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The Shape of Things

THE CONFUSED REPORTS OUT OF PARIS AS WE go to press make it difficult to assess the chances of full European cooperation on the Marshall plan. From the outset it has been evident that regardless of Russia's attitude the American government is determined to give large-scale assistance in the rebuilding of Western Europe. This explains the grudging American bid to Russia to participate and also the flagrant snubbing of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, which meets this week in Geneva. It explains too the skeptical reception the plan received by the Moscow press, which viewed it, with some justification, as a wider statement of the Truman Doctrine. That Molotov is present in Paris at all is due to the French-British dread of a permanent East-West split and to the fact that both countries have already begun to build their economic bridges eastward. Moreover, the evident intention of a number of Russia's "satellites"—particularly Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary—to keep their western avenues of trade open, may have made Russia hesitate to act on its first impulse and stay away. For Russia, as well as the eastern nations, will recover much more rapidly if it shares in an all-Europe effort than if it holds firmly to eastern regionalism. As for Western Europe, while it faces an immediate dearth of American dollars with which to buy American-made steel, machinery, textiles, and foodstuffs—a fact acutely disturbing to American exporters—it is also desperately short of coal, lumber, electric power, and fertilizers, all of them potentially abundant in the eastern countries. A coordinated plan for Europe, such as is already on the drafting boards of the Economic Commission headed by Gunnar Myrdal, should be precisely what Secretary Marshall is asking for. Russia might attempt to block such a plan; it could certainly curtail its application. But we should not be too hasty in writing off Russian cooperation, even in the face of a Molotov rebuff. After Paris, Geneva should be the next way station on the bumpy road to peace.

*

IN VETOING THE WOOL PRICE-SUPPORT BILL, the President rightly pointed out that its provisions contradicted the efforts which the government was making to bring about a lowering of trade barriers throughout the world. His action is said to have brought about an immediate improvement in atmosphere at the Geneva conference, where eighteen nations are attempting to agree on mutual tariff reductions and to lay the foundations for the International Trade Organization. Even so, it is to be feared that the reckless effort of Congress to add to the very stiff measure of protection already enjoyed by the wool growers will continue to hamper the Geneva negotiations, for it has shown that the Republicans, and not a few Democrats, continue to think in terms of Smoot-Hawleyism. In view of the possibility that within eighteen months a Republican Congress may be joined by a Republican Administration, that is a poor augury for future trade relations.

*

FACED WITH THE FACT THAT UNLESS QUICK action was taken, the wool growers would be left without any government support, the Senate meekly accepted the veto and promptly passed a new measure on lines that Mr. Truman had indicated would prove acceptable. It leaves out the objectionable import-fee and quota provisions and simply authorizes the government to continue the present price-support program and to sell surplus wool without restrictions. That is far from an ideal solution of the problem, but it would be anomalous to deprive the sheep herders of the kind of aid other farmers are receiving. If it is true (a) that native wool cannot compete with foreign even with the assistance of a thumping import duty, and (b) that a domestic wool supply is essential for national defense, then subsidization is justified. It may prove costly to us as taxpayers, but a tariff giving equivalent assistance to the wool growers would be a good deal more costly to us as consumers.

*

IT WOULD NOT BE FAIR TO BLAME THE COAL crisis entirely on the Taft-Hartley Act, for the probability of trouble in the mine fields when government seizure ended on June 30 has long been manifest. But it is certain that the act has seriously aggravated the crisis and that its provisions are calculated to prolong rather than end it. The walkout of more than half the nation's miners immediately after the Senate voted to override the President's veto seems to have been entirely spontaneous. If it was inspired by John L. Lewis he must have

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 1
President Ike 3
Holding the Bag 3
Oil and Palestine *by Freda Kirchwey* 4

ARTICLES
Wallace in the West *by Carey McWilliams* 6
Cartoon: Schizophrenia Americana *by Ezekial Schloss* 8
COAL—a Test Case *by Alfred Friendly* 9
Revolution in Eastern Europe. II. A Regional Planned Economy *by Constantine Poulos* 11
A. V. C.'s Big Chance *by Daniel James* 14
Radio: Tool of the Reactionaries *by Charles A. Siepmann* 15
The Fascist Phoenix *by Del Vayo* 17
Everybody's Business: Divided Soothsayers *by Keith Hutchison* 18

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
The Romantic Survey *by Anthony Bower* 19
Vergil and Horace *by Rolfe Humphries* 19
Old Jim Crow *by Carey McWilliams* 20
Dostoevsky's Genius *by Paul Henissart* 22
Fiction in Review *by Diana Trilling* 22
Films *by James Agee* 23
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 25

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 26

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 218 *by Jack Barrett* 27

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operated by telepathy, and that is not a crime, though Representative Hartley, who assailed the miners' leader as "rebellious and mutinous," apparently wishes to make it one. In any case the past week's stoppage was of symbolical rather than practical importance, since it merely anticipated the holiday period. The real question is what will happen after July 7, when the miners' vacation ends, if the operators and the union have reached no agreement. In the event of an actual or threatened strike endangering the public interest, the President, under the new law, can appoint a board of inquiry. On receiving its report of the facts he can direct the Attorney General to petition the Federal Court for an injunction enjoining the strike for a maximum of eighty days. But supposing these steps are taken, on what terms are the men to be ordered back to the pits? Are they to be compelled to work without any contract, on any conditions their employers impose? Obviously, that would be "involuntary servitude." Can the court then order maintenance of the status quo? That would mean continuation of the contract made between the government and the U. M. W., which the operators have never approved. Moreover, some of its provisions would be illegal under the new act. It appears, therefore, that before the court could issue an injunction, it would itself have to dictate the terms of a temporary contract. This is an extraordinary situation, but as readers of Alfred Friendly's article on page 9 will realize, it is by no means the most bizarre feature of the Republican Party's successful effort to muddle and embitter labor relations.

*

NEXT SUNDAY GENERAL FRANCO WILL WIN the easiest battle of his career. Indeed, the plebiscite in which Spaniards are supposed to pronounce themselves for or against the Law of Succession was won by the dictator on the day it was announced. Staged to give an appearance of legality to an arbitrary and despotic measure, the plebiscite is as much of a farce as the Law of Succession itself. Little can be done by the anti-Franco majority to combat it. In several dispatches from Madrid, Sam Pope Brewer has reported in the New York *Times* the hesitation of the opposition parties to urge upon their followers the only possible expression of resistance: to stay away from the polls, leaving the show to Franco and his Falange. Though the official penalties for abstainers are light, the extra-official reprisals, as Mr. Brewer has pointed out, might be extremely serious. The plebiscite takes place during a period of terror that has made 1947 the worst year since Franco came to power. It is a question of conscience for the opposition leaders to expose a large part of the nation to new repressions. They might take this risk if the number of abstainers had any chance of being accurately recorded, but what would certainly happen is that non-voters would be pun-

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ished while their repudiation of the Law of Succession and its infamous author would remain an official secret. *The Nation* therefore denounces the plebiscite in advance as a scandalous fake designed to hoodwink the world by providing a façade of false legality behind which the dictatorship can continue to make impudent grimaces at the United Nations, whose resolution of censure has so miserably miscarried.

President Ike

GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER is so attractive a personality that it is easy to forget that he is a five-star general; and easy also, in considering the rather sensational news of his appointment as president of Columbia University, that he is not an educator. Yet even as that fact obtrudes, so does the reflection that the duties of the president of Columbia University have very little to do, strictly speaking, with education.

His task, in relation to the university, is one of coordination and administration. Columbia is so large and so complex that one man would be unable to direct it in all its ramifications or to impose his will or any neat theory upon it. It is so large and so complex that in a sense it must run itself. Each department determines its own policy—and the ultimate authority in the rare cases when it is invoked, is exercised by the trustees, who delegate their power, whether to president or department, only on sufferance.

The president's larger job is to represent the university to the world and, to put it bluntly, keep funds flowing into the institution's coffers. This being so, he must be a public figure who commands the respect of a wide range of opinions and interests. General Eisenhower is demonstrably a good organizer and a good administrator. Moreover, there is little reason to doubt that he will be able to conquer and "contain" the sources of Columbia's income and meanwhile keep up a workable liaison with the Board of Trustees. And it is a matter of satisfaction that while in the nature of the case he must fulfil and will be quite capable of fulfilling the functions of a "stuffed shirt," he himself has no resemblance to the species.

As a public figure, and particularly as a five-star general, he has another qualification which is not to be minimized. For all his medals, he is a man of peace; he has often reiterated his belief that education is the most effective weapon against war. As a retired general and the head of a great university he can throw his prestige and his knowledge against the military mind that thrives on war and rumors of war. "Your business," he said to a graduating class a year ago, "is to put us out of business." He is now in a position to assist in that enterprise.

Holding the Bag

WHEN the Taft-Hartley bill became law, President Truman had to make a decision almost as difficult as the one he faced a few days earlier on the veto itself. The new problem was whether to temper the legislative wind to the shorn union lamb or to let the Republicans take over the administration of the new law in their own way. His statement to the press last Thursday indicated that he had chosen the former course. He would see that the new law was "well and faithfully administered" and urged both management and labor to show moderation.

He seems to have persuaded Paul M. Herzog, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, to stay on with his two colleagues, and is reported to be planning to seek out the two best and most liberal men he can find to join them in constituting the new five-man directorship. Similarly, he will make his own nomination for general counsel of the board, a position which the law makes vastly more important in fact than that of board member.

This is the good-gray-honest-Truman way to do it. But it is otherwise hard to justify, for several reasons. If Mr. Truman really believes what he said in his superb veto message, he knows that the law is unworkable. In picking his own men to administer it he is, first, exposing some of his friends to the certainty of failure. Second, since he believes the law will force unions to rely on their economic strength rather than on peaceful procedures, he is doing unions no favor by postponing for a few months their day of realization. He would be better advised to let the hail storm descend than to interpose a paper parasol which will be shot full of holes and blown inside out in a few minutes; and unions will be the worse off for not having taken to the storm cellar *instanter*. Finally, and most important, the President is playing directly into his opponents' hands. No matter how unworkable and impossible the law turns out to be, Mr. Truman will never be able to prove it if it is his own team which does the administering.

Even before the secretary of the Senate affixed his name to the law, the Republicans began establishing their alibi on precisely this point. House Majority Leader Halleck roared for an Administration promise that the law would not be sabotaged—thus suggesting that it would be. Senator Ives, the most competent, technically, of the law's supporters and therefore the first to foresee what may happen as the law goes into effect, took the same line. He repeated, an hour before the bill passed, a double-barreled warning, which presumably absolved him from the consequences of his vote. First he emphasized, as he has frequently done before, that the law is

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"not perfect." Next he declared that its success or failure would depend on its administration and the adequacy of its appropriations. As for its administration, he took pains to point out that Herzog was a man to be trusted; his old friend of New York State labor-law days would not sabotage the law. But, he warned, it could be sabotaged in other places. Looking at the veto message, Ives implied that it was hard to assume that there was *not* a "definite intent to sabotage."

As for adequate appropriations, while it is true that the Republicans will not wilfully ruin their own legislation at the outset, one must nevertheless be very naïve to think that the Congress will unhesitatingly pour out the enormously increased funds necessary for the operation of the greatly expanded law. And one must be very trustful to assume that Congress will not consign the law to a slow death by financial starvation, once it is clear it is not working out well.

The alibi that has been so carefully established could be destroyed if Mr. Truman had not cajoled Herzog to remain, and if he had informally notified the Republicans that he would nominate for board members whomever they suggested other than convicted felons. The responsibility for the law would then be theirs alone. Herzog's position in this matter is difficult to understand. He made no bones of his opposition to the measure while it was pending; he has cogently expounded the reasons why it cannot work. Despite his friend Ives's handsome pat on the back and avowal of faith, Herzog is understandably suspect by other Republicans. They will be only too delighted to make him the personal scapegoat for everything wrong with the law as it works out in practice.

His colleagues, John M. Houston and James J. Reynolds, Jr., are safe enough. Houston has kept cautiously quiet during the fight over the bill. Reynolds, it is fairly well known, approved of it, disassociated himself from NLRB criticism of it, and importuned the President to sign it in the first place. The general counsel, Gerhard Van Arkel, was forthright in his opposition. Honestly and sensibly, he resigned an hour after the veto was overridden.

If the President and the members of the NLRB are not to be impaled by Republican screams of "sabotage," they will be obliged to make the new law work. Presumably they hope to do so, and are therefore to be congratulated for their sanguine temperaments.

In addition to the present duties of the board—already such as to have provided it with a one year's back log of cases—they must be prepared to conduct five additional varieties of union elections. It is perfectly within reason to anticipate four of these each year for any company plagued with middling-bad labor relations.

They are obliged to decide all jurisdictional disputes without benefit of arbitrators on whom they might unload the work. Jurisdictional disputes, be it remembered, are the most complex, devious, and impervious to reason of all labor cases; witness the high-priced talent which has got nowhere in the Hollywood situation. Note also the fact that the brewers-teamsters' altercation has a history of some fifty years, all the facets of which presumably would have to be weighed in settling the issue.

The board is also in the new business of seeking injunctions in jurisdictional disputes and secondary boycotts. Whether it will or no, whether it believes an injunction is the correct procedure for settling the dispute or not, it must apply for one, once a showing is made that such a dispute exists.

The law debonairly gives the NLRB the chore of deciding whether union initiation fees are excessive or discriminatory—a nice task for an idle Saturday afternoon.

The board also has some half a dozen new unfair labor practices to prevent—union practices defined as unfair under the new act. This will be one of its toughest assignments. How does one tell, this side of ten Supreme Court cases, when a union organizer is or is not illegally "coercing" workers to sign up?

And all the while, it turns out, the board is not the board, but rather a sort of vaudeville horse composed of two men under the same cover who may or may not choose to go in the same direction. The general counsel is autonomous. The five-man board selects his field personnel, but he supervises their work. He alone decides which cases to handle, which to reject, how to prosecute them, how far to take them, whether or not to bring them before the board. If there is a would-be Dr. Robert Ley in the United States, the NLRB general counsel's job is the one he should be gunning for.

Oil and Palestine

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE most revealing bit of late news about Palestine does not mention that country at all or appear to refer to it. It occurs in a story from Lake Success reporting that a plan to set up a world oil authority will be considered next month by the Economic and Social Council. The request came from the International Cooperative Alliance, which represents cooperative societies in thirty-nine nations and is the largest non-governmental group affiliated with the United Nations. The plan submitted by the Alliance specifically proposes administration by the world oil authority of oil deposits in the Middle East "by and with the consent of the states involved." The authority would be directly under and responsible to the Security Council and would plan and enforce conservation measures, assure all nations equal access to oil, guarantee all purchasers—public, private, or cooperative—an equal opportunity to buy oil, adjudi-

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cate disputes over oil that might come up between governments or other interested parties. The attitude toward this proposal of the two most important "states involved" is easy to predict. The New York *Times* reports: "The plan is expected to meet stiff opposition from American and British petroleum interests that now control most of the oil extracted in the Middle East."

Recent Washington hearings on the Anglo-American oil treaty emphasized the coming shortage of oil for consumption in the United States. Middle Eastern petroleum, several witnesses insisted, must soon be drawn upon to supplement the output of North American and Caribbean fields. It was evident that both government and oil witnesses preferred for the moment to keep power politics off the stage and the domestic issue in the foreground. Neither isolationist nor internationalist sentiment can easily be mobilized against oil for the cars of America: too many people remember the little A stickers that still adhere to a few unwashed windshields. But military and strategic considerations lurked just off stage.

Oil will largely determine the fate of Palestine. This is true no matter what the U. N. commission sees or hears on its visit to Jewish settlements in the Negev desert or Arab villages in the hills. It is true no matter what commitments have been made in the past. For pending the day when atomic power can be applied to planes and tanks and the other machines of war, oil will remain the one important source of military mobility. By the same token it is the chief economic stake in the present struggle for power in the Middle East, where Britain and America have in effect merged their interests to form an oil empire exercising all-but-monopoly control over the richest petroleum resources remaining in the world. Other nations participating in the exploitation of the area are not even junior partners, in terms of policy and power. They are at most minor beneficiaries.

Unless deposits are discovered in the Negev, as some experts think is likely, Palestine is without petroleum. But the country is immersed in oil politics just the same. The Iraq pipe line terminates at Haifa, and new lines from Saudi Arabia may be routed through Palestine. And quite apart from tangible properties, Palestine is inextricably tangled in the complex effort of the great powers to establish relations with Arab politicians which will facilitate the full and profitable exploitation of Middle Eastern petroleum.

Certain Washington officials are now expressing the view that there is no "American policy" on Palestine. They brush aside the commitments made by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman as mere political declarations, without essential meaning or effect. They say we are "neutral"; that we will reserve freedom to make up our minds on the subject of Palestine when the commission reports in September. They indicate quite plainly that oil will be as important as domestic political considerations in influencing the final decision.

Apparently these policy-makers believe they can also ignore the various pronouncements in Congress supporting Presidential promises. There was, for example, the concurrent resolution adopted on December 19, 1945, which demanded "free entry of Jews" into Palestine and a "full opportunity for colonization and development so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home." This followed by only a few months a communication addressed to the President by a majority of members of both houses requesting that he use his influence with the government of Great Britain "to open forthwith the doors of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization" and to urge "all interested governments to join with the United States toward the end of establishing Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth. . . . " If such statements do not constitute "policy," then they are the cheapest sort of political deception. Perhaps that is what the officials in question intended to imply.

Oil and the expectation of war; oil and the fear of Russia; oil and the shortage in America; oil and profits. These are factors to be kept in mind as the U. N. commission pokes around in the Holy Land, and the experts in London and Washington prepare their reports. The fate of the people of Palestine, Jew and Arab, the fate of the displaced in Europe, will not go far toward offsetting those factors in the final reckoning unless the powers—and particularly the United States—take the position that progress and the economic development of the Middle East will produce more security than oil plus deals with the Mufti and his Arab League accomplices.

Ordinary people, the sort that build up cooperative societies and irrigate deserts, will argue for this position. It will be opposed by diehard military men and their counterparts in the oil companies. It will be opposed by the men who represent the British government in Palestine and sentence young Jewish terrorists to death without even dreaming that the processes of military law might create an unfortunate atmosphere for the U. N. inquiry. But perhaps enough pressure can be brought by opponents of the old techniques of imperialist control to influence the report of the commission and possibly even the minds of officials in Whitehall and Washington. The proposal by the Cooperative Alliance that Middle Eastern oil be taken right out of the hands of individual powers and administered by a world authority is an impressive move in the right direction. It should have the support of all liberal persons and groups. It

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should be pressed in Washington as well as at Lake Success. Incidentally it accords to the letter with that dangerous little clause supposed to have been injected into the Atlantic Charter by President Roosevelt over the objections of Prime Minister Churchill:

> They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

Wallace in the West

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, June 24

SINCE Henry Wallace spoke to 30,000 Angelenos in Gilmore Stadium on May 19—admissions ranged from 60 cents to $3, and more than $30,000 was contributed to the Progressive Citizens of America—California has been seething with new political currents. In both San Francisco and Oakland the same overflow "paid-admission" crowds were on hand. A columnist for the New York *Post*, with the omniscience that distance always lends to political commentary, has described the Wallace meetings as drummed-up left-wing demonstrations and therefore without political significance. The left wing was certainly present en masse at Gilmore Stadium, but any doubts as to the political impact of the Wallace tour have been removed by the resultant open breach in the Democratic Party in California.

Prior to the Wallace meeting a committee headed by George Outland had prepared a policy statement for the party which Colonel James Roosevelt, state chairman, intended to present at the Jackson Day dinner in Los Angeles on June 6. This statement obliquely criticized the Truman Doctrine by questioning "the methods" being used by the President and by urging "a more active policy of cooperation with the United Nations." Apparently Colonel Roosevelt hoped that the policy statement would hold the left in line and yet not alienate the right. Shortly before the dinner National Committeeman Ed Pauley asked Roosevelt what he intended to do with the statement and was told that it would be read at the dinner and that printed copies would be distributed at the tables. Pauley promptly replied that if such were the plan he would have to advise Gael Sullivan, executive director of the Democratic National Committee, and Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder not to appear at the dinner. A day or so later Sullivan wired Roosevelt that he would be unable to attend, and Snyder also sent his regrets. But apparently Pauley reconsidered, for Sullivan soon telephoned Roosevelt that he would be present after all.

On arriving at the airport Sullivan was handed a schedule which included a press conference and a number of meetings with Democratic leaders. I am informed that he had previously stipulated there were to be no press conferences and that he had agreed to appear only for the purpose of reading John Snyder's speech (this phase of the story, I might add, is firmly denied by Colonel Roosevelt). In any case, he must have been keenly disturbed either by the arrangements or by what Pauley had to say about the policy statement, for he left by car the same night for Palm Springs and the following day returned to Washington by plane. At no point during this extraordinary in-again, out-again trip did he meet Colonel Roosevelt. His only explanation, issued from Rhode Island a week after the dinner, was that both he and Snyder were kept from the dinner by the pressure of "a historic legislative week in Washington."

In consequence, the Jackson Day dinner was rather like a marriage ceremony at which the minister, Colonel Roosevelt, was present with the ring and the book, while the bride and groom—the left and the right—were embarrassingly absent. At the last minute Pauley decided to attend, and in deference perhaps to his surly presence the "policy statement" was not read or distributed. Thanks to some frenzied last-minute recruiting by A. D. A. Democrats and some good staff work, the dinner was sold out, but neither the main speech, an uninspired effort by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, nor the singing of Dinah Shore and Frank Sinatra nor the antics of Danny Kaye managed to dispel the general apathy. Dore Schary struck the one significant note when he said that "a man who should have been here became worried by the free expression of an idea. By failing to be here he has insulted a very great lady . . . and a name that he should have always held in great respect and honor."

After the dinner the Los Angeles County Democratic Central Committee, a notably independent body, voted to censure President Truman for having "refused to allow" Secretary Snyder to be present, demanded the resignation of Pauley as national committeeman, voted to retain in California the entire proceeds of the dinner, and had harsh things to say about Gael Sullivan. Inci-

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dentally, this same committee had previously repudiated the Truman Doctrine. Pauley replied by sharply criticizing James Roosevelt on two counts: first, for having prepared the "policy statement"; and, second, for having "brought it up at this time"—implying that he objected not so much to the statement as to its timing in relation to Wallace's appearances. A few days later six crotchety Democratic state senators issued a statement blasting Colonel Roosevelt and indorsing the Truman Doctrine.

Thus, so far as official relationships are concerned, the Democratic Party in California is sharply split. The state chairman has been repudiated by the national committeeman and, in effect, by the President and the National Committee, although the National Committee did announce on June 13 that efforts were being made "to repair the breach." On the other side, the central committee of the largest county in the state has repudiated the national committeeman and bluntly censured the President. The split was unquestionably produced by an upsurge of popular sentiment which has made Henry Wallace the symbol of the people's profound dissatisfaction with Truman and Company. It was Wallace who forced the issue in California—not Pauley or Roosevelt.

Determined to drive the wedge still deeper, Robert W. Kenny, former Attorney General, lost no time in inviting all Californians interested in organizing a Wallace delegation to meet in Fresno on July 19 for the purpose of forming a statewide committee which would, in turn, select the Wallace delegates. The invitation states most explicitly that only those individuals should attend who are prepared to support Wallace "all the way." Convinced that a revolt against Truman can be organized in the West, Kenny is determined to take a Wallace delegation to the next Democratic convention.

Ed Pauley will, of course, head a Truman delegation. There is not the slightest possibility at this time that such a delegation could attract liberal or progressive support, though it is not unthinkable that a few liberal stragglers might be induced to join it later. Before the Fresno meeting no one can say just how representative of liberal-labor strength the Wallace delegation will be, but it will certainly have a large rank-and-file following and will draw support from a surprisingly large number of Democratic county committees—those of Los Angeles, Alameda (Oakland), and San Diego counties among others. It is quite possible that a majority of the Los Angeles County Committee would go along. Conceivably there could be a third delegation, pledged to Governor Earl Warren. Having won the Democratic and Republican nominations in 1946, Warren will certainly be tempted to take advantage of California's wide-open cross-filing system and the split in the Democratic Party by entering a slate of delegates in the primary. A Warren delegation would draw votes from Truman, not from Wallace, and in a three-cornered Truman-Warren-Wallace fight a Wallace delegation would stand a good chance of success.

There could be still another delegation, pledged to either James Roosevelt or Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, which would be, in effect, an uninstructed delegation. Its formation would seriously interfere with Mr. Wallace's chances; on the other hand it would not have much strength if isolated from the mass support which he obviously enjoys. Much depends, therefore, on the attitude of such middle-of-the-road liberals as George Outland, Chet Holifield, Helen Gahagan Douglas, Dore Schary, and, of course, James Roosevelt. The appearance of this fourth delegation would precipitate a major struggle for control of the liberal movement in California which could degenerate into a repetition of the disastrous Patterson-Rogers fight of 1946.

Drawing by Kelen

Henry Wallace

The idea of the Fresno meeting, that is, of a grass-roots people's convention, is a good one. And Bob Kenny cannot fairly be accused of "jumping the gun" in issuing the call for this meeting. If a revolt against Truman was to be organized in the West, action could not have been postponed much longer, for the problem of what to do with the sentiment aroused by the Wallace meetings assumed large proportions immediately after the Jackson Day dinner. There was also the danger that leadership of the Wallace movement might be preempted by some of the more impetuous and politically irresponsible left-wing Democrats in Los Angeles.

Wanting to postpone a decision as long as possible, most of the middle-of-the-road liberals have looked with favor on the idea of a "favorite-son" delegation or some last-minute compromise with the Truman-Pauley axis. Colonel Roosevelt's position has been that Truman's nomination is assured and that the most any insurgent movement can hope to achieve is the nomination of a liberal for the Vice-Presidency and some platform concessions. A fight between the Pauley and Roosevelt forces over this issue would be essentially meaningless. Ed Pauley is too sophisticated and flexible a politician to be much concerned over a "policy statement" mildly criticizing the President's foreign policy; nor would he get excited about a few finely phrased declarations in a party platform. His major concern is to defeat a ground-swell

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movement for Wallace in California, and it was solely from this point of view that he took exception to the "policy statement." The Pauley crowd neither like nor trust Jimmy Roosevelt. They opposed his election as state chairman a year ago, and their opposition has never abated. Since they are now in undisputed control of the pro-Truman elements, the only rival delegation that could possibly win would be one that was explicitly and noisily anti-Truman, in short, a Wallace delegation.

Nevertheless, consultations should have been held with the middle-of-the-roaders before the Fresno meeting was publicly announced, if only for the purpose of explaining to them, as a matter of protocol, the reasons underlying the decision. The meeting should also have been preceded by several months of intensive spade work with the trade unions and other mass organizations. To date Colonel Roosevelt's only comment on the Fresno meeting has been that since it is for Wallace "all the way," he cannot attend.

That the West is the place to organize a revolt against Truman, or, as Bob Kenny puts it, "to demonstrate his unsuitability," is clearly shown by the open breach in California—the most clear-cut and unbridgeable split between pro-Truman and anti-Truman forces within the Democratic Party that has occurred anywhere as yet. Powered by the steam that one can hear hissing in California's political boilers, a conference of liberal-labor groups in the Western states in late September or October might well succeed in laying the foundations for a Western revolt. A set of basic interests cutting sharply across party lines unite the Western states in support of an expanding economic program with strong emphasis on reclamation and power projects and in opposition to Eastern industrial dominance, monopoly control, patent pools, discriminatory freight rates, and the like. The strongest regional support for President Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley bill came from the Pacific Coast Congressional delegation. With Wallace as the symbol and Kenny as the strategist, a Western revolt could assume large proportions.

The political situation in California is the key to the success or failure of such a movement. An internecine fight among liberals in California for leadership of an anti-Truman movement would spread dismay and confusion in the other Western states. In 1946 the left wing split away from the liberal Democrats in California by forcing the ill-considered candidacy of Ellis Patterson for the United States Senate. Can it be that the liberal Democrats will make a similar mistake in 1948 by splitting with the left wing?

Some light is thrown on this question by the results of a poll of Democratic voters taken in Los Angeles this week. They show Truman leading Wallace by only a slight margin, with Governor Earl Warren in third place, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in fourth. Under these circumstances the middle-of-the-roaders would hardly want to risk the valuable name of Roosevelt in a primary fight; the same poll shows that Governor Warren's "non-partisan" pretense is beginning to wear pretty thin. Still unknown is the attitude of organized labor, more particularly of the rank and file of the A. F. of L. and the right wing of the C. I. O. Will organized labor in California merge its differences for a common political purpose? In the last analysis, the answer to this question will determine whether a successful revolt against Truman can be engineered in the West.

SCHIZOPHRENIA AMERICANA

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COAL—a Test Case

BY ALFRED FRIENDLY

Washington, June 28

FOR those who like their humor sardonic the Taft-Hartley labor law is the perfect dish. Its proponents, it may be recalled, began and ended most of their arguments with the clinching comment that the law was necessary, if for no other reason, to "take care of John L. Lewis." But less than forty-eight hours after the law was passed, these same advocates found themselves busily explaining that "because of the peculiar circumstances" the law may not be effective in stopping a coal strike.

This second-guessing is considerably closer to the truth. It is correct as far as it goes, but it doesn't go far enough. The act is not merely unable to stop a coal strike but is bound to create zany confusion and frustration if anyone makes so bold as to attempt its application in the coal industry. Yet the law must be applied.

There is only one escape from it, and that only temporary. If Lewis can negotiate a contract before August 22, when the provisions of the law that alter the Wagner act take effect, he can eliminate some trouble and postpone the rest for a year. But it seems very likely that a part of the industry, particularly the Southern operators, will choose not to grant a contract so soon. To obtain agreement, they would have to give Lewis a closed shop, whereas if they hold out until the law takes effect they may be able to avoid making this concession.

Let us assume, then, that there is no disposition to get a contract before the effective date, and that Lewis is obliged to take the steps prescribed under the new law. What does he have to do just to get what he now has, not to mention anything more? How fast does he have to run to stay where he is? Take a deep breath:

Lewis and the United Mine Workers have for some years enjoyed a union shop. A miner must join the U. M. W. to keep his job, once he is hired in a mine represented by that union. Further, for some years Lewis has been able to conduct either nation-wide or regional bargaining.

He dare not relinquish either of these assets. In periods of slack demand either the open shop or mine-by-mine bargaining would whipsaw his wage scales down to the point of disappearance, as he learned through bitter experience in the early '20's and early '30's. He must therefore retain present contract provisions on those subjects, which means he must *obtain* them, as if for the first time, under the new steps prescribed by the law.

The NLRB has never made an over-all determination of an appropriate bargaining unit for the coal industry. As an inital move to getting a closed-shop contract Lewis must petition that the entire industry be considered the proper unit. Assume that he files this petition by July 1. The board must hold a hearing on the petition unless all parties waive it. Obviously they will not. Assume the maximum possible expedition, with the hearing held before the board in the first instance, rather than before a hearings officer. The date for it could not in justice to the parties be set before July 15.

The hearing will cover some 3,500 mines and will take up such troublesome issues as whether to include mines now organized by the Progressive Mine Workers and mines not organized at all. (Let us skip for the moment the problem of how to exclude those mines from the bargaining unit without at the same time being forced to rule that bargaining must be by individual mines.) The hearing cannot possibly be concluded before August 1.

Either the Southern operators or the U. M. W., depending on the decision, will be dissatisfied and will refuse to bargain on the basis of the decision. The other party will file a complaint of refusal to bargain. Everyone is breaking his neck for the sake of speed; so we will assume the date is now only August 5. The board will draft a complaint and serve it on the parties the next day. But under the law it cannot set a hearing for at least five days. It is now August 13. Since the main issues have been decided, the verdict could be entered in a couple of days, by August 17.

In the meantime, let us assume, the U. M. W. has filed with the Secretary of Labor its reports on the compensation of all officers and their manner of election or selection, on all dues and fees required, the procedures of its constitution and by-laws in some dozen different matters, its assets, liabilities, receipts, and disbursements for the past twelve months, and in some manner not yet determined can prove that copies of these reports have been furnished *all* its members. At the same time, it has given the NLRB an affidavit by each officer of the national union and each officer of all the local unions, swearing that he is not a Communist, Communist sympa-

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thizer, or a fellow who believes in the overthrow of the government by force.

Let us assume that there has been no slip-up, that every officer has found a notary and filed an affidavit, that every member has received the proper report. (If there *has* been any lapse, the union is disqualified, or else the NLRB must interpret the law on these points loosely. In the latter case there are just that many more issues for the courts. Let's forget it, for the case is getting complicated enough anyway.) So the complaint is issued by the NLRB and the aggrieved party will then carry the case to the Circuit Court of Appeals. The record and petition must be printed and the case set for argument, giving time to both parties to prepare briefs. If there is maximum alacrity, the case may be argued early in October. The court gives it precedence over everything else, and a decision comes down in early November.

There may or may not be a good chance to obtain a writ of certiorari. In any event, the losing party is sure to try. Let's say a petition is drafted, printed, and filed in two weeks. The other party has twenty days in which to file a response. By now we are in the middle of December.

The Supreme Court, also giving the matter precedence, may have its answer in a week. Assuming it denies the petition—which is unlikely, since the issues are so novel and important—the matter of an appropriate bargaining unit will be decided by Christmas. If the court grants the writ, and takes the case, add three months as a minimum to this time-table.

The next step is to see whether the employees in the bargaining unit determined upon wish to be represented by the U. M. W. An election appears to be necessary—an election in 3,500 mines. This will cost, if previous experience is a guide, $180,000, and will take at least two weeks. The Ides of January are upon us. After the election the U. M. W. must collect signatures of 30 per cent of its members on a petition asking for a union shop. Let us say that this task is accomplished by February 1.

It is then necessary for the board to conduct another election—it could not have done this before, for the petition, to be honored, must have been presented by a union already certified as a bargaining representative. So the miners vote again, another $180,000 is spent, and perhaps in two weeks' time the NLRB is able to assure itself that 50 per cent of all the miners want a union shop.

Still breaking time records, the union and operators would convene within a week, on Washington's Birthday, to hear Lewis's demand for a union shop. Assume, although there is every reason for making exactly the opposite assumption, that the operators are willing to grant the demand. But half a dozen coal-mine states have laws which forbid the union shop. They may have been enforced with great laxity, if at all, in the past, but now their enforcement falls ultimately on the federal government. No employer can take a chance lest a disappointed non-union job applicant have an air-tight case against him. So some of the operators refuse the union-shop demand.

Lewis cannot yield. On this issue alone, whatever others exist, the negotiations break down, by March 1.

Then, presumably, the eighty-day injunction procedure for threatened "national-emergency" strikes starts to run its course. We need not go into the details of this procedure except to note that the injunction order would probably be appealed and that the whole matter might be suspended while the order was being reviewed. Assuming it stood up, there would be a third NLRB election to see if the miners would accept the last offer of their employers. If they refused, and the injunction was lifted, and the strike took place, the President would be issuing his report to the Eightieth Congress just as it was getting ready to adjourn—about a year from now.

Thus the dispute would not be settled until there had been a year of NLRB work, three NLRB elections, at least one Appellate Court review of a board decision, a proceeding in a District Court, possibly one or two Appellate Court reviews of that decision, two reports by a board of inquiry, one report to Congress by the President, and some mixing in, to a greater or lesser degree, by the Supreme Court.

Absurd? Of course. In the first place the actual time-table for all this would be nearer two years than the breakneck one-year schedule recited above. Secondly, Lewis would clearly not have been content to operate all this time on an open-shop basis, and just as clearly the nation could not have lived for a year without coal.

Would the "emergency" injunction have come into play before—say, early this July, if there was a strike at that time? Possibly, but it is hard to see how the preventive machinery of the law could be invoked before the negotiating machinery of the law was permitted to operate. And if it could, are there any other terms on which a settlement could be made without denying the U. M. W. the union shop? The law, though, is supposed to permit the union shop.

In point of fact, it clearly does not permit the union shop except after this twelve-month period or longer of hocus-pocus.

The coal industry is an extreme case. Yet much the same procedure would be invoked if a union shop were demanded in any other industry where industry-wide or regional bargaining has been the rule, or in any company where an employer chose to challenge the union shop. The period would be shortened only in cases in which the NLRB had previously determined the appropriate bargaining unit and in which there was no good basis for contesting that determination. The time schedule

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might be much longer in the maritime industry. The last time the NLRB held an election in one branch of it, seven months passed before all the sailors got back from the seven seas.

One final note, returning for a moment to coal. In the event of a strike, just what does the court enjoin under the emergency procedure provided in the new law? Lewis would have issued no strike order, posted no pickets, paid no strike benefits. What tangible act can the court enjoin, and at the same time refrain from ordering miners to work against their will?

And if it could make the injunction effective, the court would be in the business of setting wages, hours, and working conditions without very much of a guide to follow. For the 1945 owner-union contract has been long since abandoned, and the operators never accepted the government (Krug-Lewis) contract.

Perhaps Lewis will make everything easy by just pulling the miners out on the ground that their working conditions are abnormally dangerous. The new law specifically decrees that this sort of action, if in good faith, may not be held to be a strike.

Revolution in Eastern Europe

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

II. A Regional Planned Economy

Vienna, June 1

THE seeds of a regional planned economy are being planted in the capitals of Eastern Europe. It is an old, old dream. There were a few open discussions of the idea during the war, but the Soviet Union frowned and that ended it. Now the concept is being quietly revived.

The Soviet Union is now quite sure that its neighbors are "friendly." As a result of its capitalist and imperialist operations in the past three years it need not worry that it will be isolated economically by the Eastern European countries as it was in the pre-war period. And it cannot very easily oppose a constructive plan which is so similar to its own successful regional-planning programs.

Time will be needed for the seeds to develop. But the impetus is there. The knowledge of these nations that any assistance they may get for their reconstruction and rehabilitation, whether it comes from Uncle Joe or Uncle Sam, will have too high a price tag on it contributes to their determination to work out their many problems as a unit, drawing strength from one another.

The old restrictive nationalisms are gradually dying out, and the natural links that were broken after the First World War are being welded together again. Economic realities are helping to level the old chauvinist barriers. This time the rivalries of the great powers will not be able to prevent regional economic agreements, and no large influential pressure groups now exist within the countries themselves, determined, for their own selfish purposes, to obstruct regional cooperation.

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INTERLOCKING TRADE AGREEMENTS

The framework for economic collaboration has been gradually built up during the past two years. Its three prerequisites now exist—similar social structures, similar economic structures, and similar basic political attitudes. Plans already exist to integrate the economic progress of the backward agricultural countries with that of the advanced industrial countries—Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. A whole network of interlocking trade agreements already covers the area and is growing into a workable program of economic interdependence.

Poland's remarkably strong coal position serves as a firm foundation. Poland is sending coal to every other Eastern European country except Bulgaria, which has enough for its own needs and exports what is left over to Yugoslavia. In return, Poland receives from Austria, for example, scientific equipment and industrial products.

Czechoslovakia has made a trade agreement with Bulgaria by which it will send Bulgaria several power stations, some mining machinery, and other industrial equipment in return for tobacco, ores, and hides. Czechoslovakia's state-owned Bata National Shoe Company will also build and operate a shoe factory near Sofia which will manufacture 20,000 pairs of shoes a week.

Hungary's copper requirements are being filled by Yugoslavia alone. Rumanian oil is going to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, Rumanian wine to Poland, and Bulgarian tobacco, like Polish coal, to all countries in the region.

Austria has not fitted fully into the picture yet, but representatives of the Austrian Social Democratic Party who attended the Congress of the Eastern European Socialist Parties in Budapest last month said they realized the necessity of restoring Austria's economic links with

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the East. Markets for Austria's industrial products can be found now only in Eastern Europe with its great consumption potential.

So far the Soviet Union's trade relations with these countries have been pretty one-sided, designed for the aggrandizement and rehabilitation of Russia. In time they will be worked down to a more equitable arrangement, but there will never be a return to the situation that existed before the war, when Czechoslovakia's trade with Russia was only 5 per cent of its total foreign trade and Poland's was less than half of 1 per cent. The potentialities of Russian trade with Eastern Europe are tremendous. By supplying raw materials and receiving finished goods Russia will help these countries raise their standard of living and keep them out of their former bondage to the highly industrialized Western nations.

Still other trade possibilities, outside the Eastern European family, are being explored: Poland has an extensive agreement with Sweden, and Czechoslovakia with Finland. Future and existing agreements with all the Scandinavian countries, with other countries of Western Europe, and with the Middle East, where a growing sense of nationalism is combined with a comparatively low standard of living, will continuously strengthen the economic unity of the countries of Eastern Europe.

The Western powers could help, of course. Great Britain has significantly reversed its position, as is indicated by its recent agreements with Poland and Hungary and its current talks with Yugoslavia. The United States is evidently determined not to help countries within the Russian sphere, or if it does, to do so on its own terms. But it is seriously mistaken if it thinks that the new regimes will revise their policies to get dollars.

Without American help the new regimes will lower their objectives: they will postpone the rise in the standard of living which they had anticipated and simply make strenuous efforts to maintain minimum consumption levels. Without American assistance the recovery of Eastern Europe will be hard. But it will go on.*

Imitating the Soviet Union, the various countries have launched long-term plans for industrial development. With UNRRA help, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia have got off to an excellent start. Yugoslavia has a five-year plan, Poland a three-year plan, Czechoslovakia a two-year plan, and Hungary is embarking on a three-year plan on August 1. Bulgaria, having suffered least, is taking it more easily and gradually. Rumania has not done any serious planning as yet, and Albania should be considered an autonomous region within the federal system of Yugoslavia, with its economy geared to that of the larger unit. Four-power occupation of Austria and the delay in obtaining a treaty have held up nearly all planning in this already industrialized country, but the powerful Social Democratic Party has detailed projects which will fit into the new Eastern European pattern.

The rapid rate of industrial development called for by all the plans anticipates the absorption of surplus agricultural labor. Such a development would entail a drastic reorganization of each country's economic structure and a great change in this agrarian region's mode of life.

PROGRESS OF NATIONALIZATION

Whatever inspiration has been drawn from the Russian system, there has been no indiscriminate, slavish adoption of it. There has been absolutely no collectivization, and no general arbitrary abolition of private enterprise. In Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia, where nearly all basic and large industries have been nationalized, private initiative has still plenty of scope. In Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania nationalization has made little progress. An exception is Bulgaria's tobacco industry, which was brought under strict state control soon after the war.

Nationalization of large industries in Austria is being delayed by Russia's interpretation of the "external-German-assets" clause of the Potsdam agreement, by which it claims ownership of most Austrian plants. Elsewhere, for specific compensation, the Soviet Union has left German assets to the states concerned: the synthetic oil plant at Most has been turned over to Czechoslovakia, and coal-mining equipment in Silesia to Poland.

As an ex-enemy state Rumania is not permitted to nationalize properties owned by citizens of U. N. countries. The larger part of Rumanian oil is thus owned. The Russians now control the rest through "Sovrom Petrol," a corporation in which theoretically the Soviet Union and the Rumanian government have equal shares but which is actually controlled by the Russians. Rumania's maritime services are monopolized by "Sovrom Transport"; its lending and credit facilities and its export and import trade will eventually all center in "Sovrombanc." The lumber industry is to be run for Russia's benefit by "Sovromlemm," and air transport is monopolized by "Tars." Russia's economic infiltration of Rumania has been bluntly carried out, but if one recalls past imperial practices and the tactics of power politics, condemnation of it will not be too severe. The important thing is that Rumania is the only Eastern European country whose economy Russia has succeeded in tying firmly to its own.

So far Austria, aided by the Western Allies, has successfully resisted similar "fifty-fifty" proposals by the Russians. Hungary and Russia have a very weak joint air line, "Maszovlet," unclear arrangements on motor transport, and a confused, indefinite deal on bauxite deposits. The Rumanian government could have stalled on Russian demands as Austria and Hungary have done.

Considering the obstacles created by Russian policy, the meager means, the creaky economic and bureaucratic

* Mr. Poulos mailed his piece from Vienna before the Marshall plan was announced.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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machinery which had to be used, the strides toward industrialization in Eastern Europe in the past two years have been truly remarkable.

THE WORKERS SUPPORT THE NEW REGIMES

The revolution has not led to chaos and will not lead to chaos—despite the wishful thinking of Western diplomats and economists—largely because the working class believes it has acquired a new incentive. The achievements of the workers of Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary during the past two years have been incredible. The workers are the strength and backbone of all the Eastern European governments, though in Yugoslavia there is considerable peasant support for Marshal Tito, and the other governments too have large rural followings.

The organized labor movements are under the exclusive direction of the Communists except in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. These countries had sizeable industries before the war and therefore some trade-union tradition.

In Austria the Communists are greatly outnumbered by the Social Democrats; in Hungary many workers joined the Communists in the first excitement of liberation but have now returned to the Social Democratic fold. The Social Democrats are much the strongest of the Hungarian workers' parties. The Socialists of Czechoslovakia and Poland have kept a foothold in the labor movements of those countries but have lost considerable strength to the Communists. Such trade unions as existed in Bulgaria, Rumania, and Yugoslavia in the past, before they were suppressed by the various dictatorial and semi-dictatorial governments, were controlled by the Communists. The Communists control them today, too.

Most of the workers are better off than they were before the war, and those whose lot has not actually improved are better off in comparison with other classes. But the great problem of alleviating the misery and discontent of the peasants remains to be solved. All the countries of Eastern Europe except Austria and Czechoslovakia have a surplus rural population. From 70 to 80 per cent of the region's 100,000,000 inhabitants try to make a living off the land—a third more than the land can support. Industries have always been too limited to absorb the surplus. Between 1929 and 1937 Yugoslavia's total population increased by almost 2,000,000, while industrial workers increased by only 200,000.

AID FOR THE PEASANTS

Programs designed to correct this situation face many difficulties, and the condition of the rural population will remain an unsettling factor for some time to come. Greater or lesser land reforms have been instituted throughout the region. The land has not been collectivized but has been turned over to the peasants in private ownership, a policy which in the long run may prove disadvantageous to socialism. The hurried conversion from large-scale farming to small, in some cases impractically small, holdings, has created new problems, particularly in Hungary and Poland, but the political, social, and economic situation at the time the reforms were executed allowed no alternative.

After the land reforms the new governments turned to organizing agrarian cooperatives. The few ventures in this line undertaken before the war—in Bulgaria with considerable success—were managed by the large landowners and wealthy peasants and their benefits went to this class. Now, under state control, cooperatives handle a large proportion of the produce the peasant sells and the manufactured goods he buys.

In Bulgaria and Yugoslavia peasants on adjoining farms pool their machinery and labor in "labor cooperatives." The system enables them to grow a greater variety of crops and to breed better livestock.

Efforts to increase the yield per acre are tied up with the introduction of modern (1920) agricultural machinery, to which the peasants are traditionally hostile. Countries which have received tractors from UNRRA—Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia—have set up "machine tractor stations." These have been especially successful in Yugoslavia. Operating out of the stations, tractor teams work for cooperatives and individual peasants. The major plowing burden, however, is still borne by draft animals.

Scientific approaches to crop cultivation are also being made. For example, Czechoslovakia is planning to shift the emphasis from grain production to stock breeding and truck gardening. Hungary is thinking of reducing its maize production. But Hungary, more thoroughly stripped than the other countries and not qualified to receive aid from UNRRA, is having greater difficulties all along the line. As a result, it is far behind in setting up and carrying out a complete program of cooperatives, tractor stations, and experimental farms.

Recognizing the importance and strength of the peasant population, the new regimes are trying hard to win and hold its support. The Bulgarian government has organized mechanics, technicians, carpenters, artisans, doctors, and dentists in "labor brigades" which go into the villages on Sundays and holidays to repair machines, mend household equipment and furniture, build sheds, and prescribe for the sick.

Agriculture in Eastern Europe will undoubtedly improve in time, after the many plans and programs get into full gear. Yugoslavia has already brought industrial prices into closer harmony with agricultural prices. The disparity remains a serious problem for the other countries and is an important factor in plans for rapid industrialization. The length of time that will be required to solve these problems depends a great deal on international politics.

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A. V. C.'s Big Chance

BY DANIEL JAMES

THE American Veterans Committee has its second chance to take the leadership of those veterans of World War II whose interest in their nation's life goes somewhat beyond bonuses, beer, and skittles. Its first clear challenge to progressive thought and action was dimmed during last year by internal difficulties. The Communists, who at the outset had left it alone, bored into chapter after chapter and threatened to take over national control. That they did not speaks well not only for the top leadership but for an awakened political sense in the rank and file. These refused to accept a minority control that had bedeviled so many sections of the liberal and labor movement. They demonstrated that it was possible to hold to a firm progressive course without yielding to a group which, whatever the label it wore, followed slavishly a line dictated from outside.

The showdown came at the recent Milwaukee convention. The situation was critical, not only because of the year's difficulties but because of a necessary change in national leadership. Charles G. Bolté, the national chairman, had gained unchallenged prestige during the period when the organization built itself up from a handful of service men, most of them in the army, to its present substantial strength of over 100,000. Now he was leaving to carry on his university work in Oxford. Gil Harrison, vice-chairman, who had become the main target of Communist attack, had decided to withdraw in the interests of greater harmony. On the election of the executive officers and of the new National Planning Committee the strength and unity of A. V. C. would depend.

At the convention the issue was somewhat complicated by a "third caucus" led by Michael Straight, the young publisher of the *New Republic*. Straight, outspokenly anti-Communist, insisted that American foreign policy was the chief issue liberal veterans had to face. The Truman Doctrine menaced peace and required a united front of all liberals. The main effect of the Straight caucus was to draw off non-Communist strength from the Communist-led faction. But the sentiment of the convention itself in voicing overwhelming disapproval of the Truman Doctrine robbed his platform of much of its appeal. It was soon apparent that the great majority was forming behind the Independent Progressive caucus.

When the voting returns were in, the Independent Progressives had elected a new chairman, Chat Paterson, by an over-all majority, the Straight group running a bad third. Richard Bolling, Midwest field director of Americans for Democratic Action, won the vice-chairmanship easily against a combined opposition vote. Of the twenty-four posts on the National Planning Committee, the Independent Progressives won twenty-four.

There is no doubt, then, about the mandate carried by the new National Planning Committee. The threat of Communist control is ended.

The question is: what will A. V. C. do with its new opportunity? If the tenor of resolutions passed indicates anything, it should do well. The convention, after attacking the Truman Doctrine, came out strongly for more United Nations control in world affairs and international control of atomic energy along the lines of the American plan. It blasted the Taft-Hartley labor bill—then entering its final stage—but criticized jurisdictional strikes. It took a strong stand against racial and religious discrimination, called for a permanent FEPC, demanded that "the government assume responsibility for getting homes for veterans," and backed General Bradley as head of the Veterans' Administration. It turned thumbs down on a veterans' bonus—in opposition both to the Communist and the American Legion line. "Bonuses," it declared, "are handouts and as such are inconsistent with the more modern and intelligent theories of social and economic security."

The new members of the Planning Committee suggest that the A. V. C. is reaching out beyond the group that originally brought it into being and directed its early destinies. Chat Paterson, the new chairman, served for eighteen months as the A. V. C.'s man on Capitol Hill. His experience will be invaluable to an organization that intends to focus much of its attention on Washington. Bolling, the vice-chairman, has had more than an academic acquaintance with the fight for civil liberties: he carries a scar on his left temple—a gift from Gerald L. K. Smith's goons one day in New Orleans. Four of the new members have labor backgrounds. Three represent Southern liberalism; one of them, Lester Persells of Atlanta having helped unseat Herman Talmadge. Six of the group have had experience with the federal government. Two are Negroes. The Planning Committee is representative of all parts of the country.

To class either A. V. C.'s platform or its new leadership as "right-wing" is therefore nonsense. Both are liberal enough to be a thorn in the flesh of the present wielders of Congressional authority. They are liberal

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enough to attract veterans who see that the things Roosevelt stood for in American life are seriously threatened. More than that, at a time when liberal thought is once more showing signs of life, they provide A. V. C. with a common ground to share with other left-of-center movements. A revitalized A. V. C. will undoubtedly attract those veterans who remember the war was fought for certain objectives beyond victory and who have been looking for an organization with unequivocal standards and an uncompromising leadership.

Radio: Tool of the Reactionaries

BY CHARLES A. SIEPMANN

A BILL to revise the Communications Act of 1934 is currently being pushed through Congress with unseemly haste and little opportunity for responsible civic groups to prepare and present their point of view. The National Association of Broadcasters has seized the opportunity to press its case against the Federal Communications Commission and its "infamous" Blue Book on radio's public-service responsibilities.

Radio, here and elsewhere, is one of the big prizes in the current struggle for power by reactionary private enterprise. The agitation has spread to Canada, where an unscrupulous campaign is being waged to bring discredit on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and, at the same time, to expand commercial broadcasting. An independent Canadian columnist, Jack Scott, describes it as "a campaign of trick slogans and falsehoods." Canada's privately owned stations have bought full-page advertisements, at a cost of thousands of dollars, in over seventy newspapers, and quaintly refer to their contents as a "series of public discussions." They have also used their own radio facilities to bombard the public with propaganda. The C. B. C. has rather stuffily decided that, as a public organization, it is precluded from answering back. Thus the "discussion" before the public has been, to say the least, one-sided.

The campaign has had open or tacit support from most Canadian newspapers—signal exceptions are the Montreal *Star* and the Ottawa *Journal*—and also from certain "free-enterprise" interests. A number of high-powered public-relations concerns in Toronto and Montreal are actively involved. It has now reached its climax in hearings before a special parliamentary committee.

The private station owners' brief opens with the time-worn slogan about the peril to free speech offered by a monopoly. There is, however, little or nothing in C. B. C.'s record to suggest that freedom of speech has been either curtailed or threatened. An even more contemptible argument by innuendo is contained in the following passage from the Canadian Association of Broadcasters' brief. Referring to the exploratory studies of the Aird Commission, which laid the groundwork for Canada's present broadcasting system, it observes, "The commission was most favorably impressed by the German radio system. *That was one year before Hitler took over.*" (The C. B. C. bitterly remembers that had the Aird Commission been heeded to the full, the present controversy would never have arisen, for among its recommendations not later adopted was the gradual absorption, by purchase, of private stations into the C. B. C. system.)

Elsewhere the brief submits as evidence in support of its case the results of a public-opinion poll purporting to prove that the majority of Canadians support a system of commercial enterprise. It is instructive to note that this poll was financed, not by the private stations, but by the Imperial Oil Company, Aluminium, Ltd., Canadian Industries, Ltd., Canadian General Electric, and Northern Electric. "Since then a number of companies, corporations, and trade associations have participated."

But while in the United States commercial broadcasters attack the FCC, Canadian private interests seek expanded activity through the creation of a Canadian FCC. To understand this paradox some knowledge of the Canadian system of broadcasting is necessary. Radio in Canada represents an uneasy compromise between the British and American systems. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, deriving its basic revenue from a license fee paid by radio-set owners, controls and operates all network broadcasting. Private commercial stations are limited to local-station operations. But the C. B. C. functions not only as a network broadcasting system but as a regulatory commission with powers over private stations far exceeding those of the FCC. It is empowered, for example, "to control the character of any and all programs broadcast by private stations" and "to determine the proportion of time which may be devoted to advertising." Though the enforcement of these and like powers has never been more than perfunctory, private stations resent control, and the main object of their present attack is the C. B. C.'s dual role as broadcaster and arbiter of the policies or practice of private stations.

The strength of their case on this count has to be

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admitted, for the C. B. C., as its own chairman has declared, has come to be a serious financial competitor with private stations for the advertising dollar. This results from the fact that the license revenue (the fee per radio set is $2.50) does not cover C. B. C.'s operating costs. Because of Canada's vast area and scattered population, operation of a nation-wide radio system is more expensive there than in any other country in the world. One single station in New York can cover a population as great as that of the whole of Canada. In Canada thirty or more powerful stations and thousands of miles of expensive land lines are necessary. C. B. C. has therefore had to supplement its license revenue by accepting sponsored programs—mostly from the United States—and even "spot announcements." The public will not stand for a further increase in the license fee, and C. B. C.'s resources, even supplemented by advertising, remain inadequate for effective service.

The Canadian Association of Broadcasters contends that while they welcome C. B. C.'s competition, they resent its regulatory powers. They ask that these powers be vested instead in an "impartial" commission equivalent to the FCC. Coupled with this is a demand that private stations be admitted to the network field of operations. (They provide no satisfactory answer to the question of how this will be financed.)

The claim that continued competition from C. B. C. will be welcome is of course specious. This is only the first round in a struggle to obtain the ultimate demise of C. B. C. The opinion poll presented to the committee indicates, as has been said, that a small majority of listeners favor "independent ownership of radio." But while the sponsorship of this poll casts doubt upon the accuracy of its findings, it is probably true that many Canadian listeners would prefer to be rid of the license fee. Envious eyes are cast on the varied entertainment programs heard, free, by listeners in the United States.

But here, surely, is a case where democracy and public interest are not well served by deference to popular opinion, which rests on very partial knowledge of the relevant facts. Should Canada acquire a system of broadcasting similar to ours, those who support the change must weigh the price. They might well study with more care the price that we are paying for a system in which private enterprise has been allowed to get away with murder by an FCC without stomach for its regulatory responsibilities. The price for Canada can be estimated with some confidence as follows:

1. Private radio will concentrate, as it has done in the United States, on audiences in densely populated urban areas. Canada has vast areas of thin rural population. They are important to Canada. Much of the energy and funds of C. B. C. are spent in trying to provide for their needs. From private radio they will receive short measure.

2. Private radio will tend, as here, to provide minimum service where handsome profits are not immediately forthcoming. As one Canadian paper—the Montreal *Star*—which has foreseen the danger in the current crisis, puts it, "It is a fact that in our complex, technical, international world a democracy must maintain a ceaseless effort to educate itself. Radio discussion, explanation, and interpretations of policy are important instruments to this end. . . . C. B. C. has undertaken many programs, worthless commercially and not necessarily with large listening audiences. It is important to ask, if the C. B. C.'s revenues are to be restricted, whether there will be any alternative available, prepared or able to spend large sums of money—without profit—to maintain these national objectives." The private stations' current concept of public service is illustrated by their answer to a question on this point posed by the parliamentary committee which sat in 1946. "One station reported that it recorded interviews with local British war brides and sent the recordings, free of charge, to the brides' parents in Britain. . . . Other stations had put on local man-in-the-street interviews. Many considered that they had done well by putting their facilities at the disposal of war-loan committees."

3. Educational broadcasts and similar special services, expensive and unprofitable, will be curtailed. Even in the United States, where $400,000,000 goes annually to program making, such services hardly match up to the urgent needs of our time. Canada, which is a poorer country, is unlikely to fare better.

4. Canadian listeners will be inundated with programs "made in the U. S." They will be popular. But the growth of sound Canadianism, in fostering which the C. B. C. has played a distinguished part, will be retarded if not eliminated altogether. Canada will become, on the air at least, a cultural dependency of the United States.

5. French Canadians form over a third of the population. French Canada gets very special service from the C. B. C. There are those who question whether commercial radio will provide comparable service.

To the Canadian populace, as ill informed about radio as our own, glutted with vicious and one-sided propaganda, such a price may not seem heavy. It is, however, to be hoped that more enlightened groups may weigh in time the implications of the present drive by powerful, moneyed interests to seize control of the Canadian air. A sensible suggestion is that of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, which pleads for the appointment of a royal commission to study Canadian radio needs in 1947. Such a step would provide time for a sober review of Canada's peculiar cultural problems and might be expected to produce the right answer. It would also remove the discussion from the area of political partisanship.

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Del Vayo—The Fascist Phoenix

FOR more than a year I have been insisting, to the point of tedium, that fascism is recovering its strength with a speed exceeding the most sensational predictions. One could count on one's fingers the people in this country who have shared my conviction. Many liberal observers have been concentrating so eagerly upon the big diplomatic battle, Washington versus Moscow, that they have paid little attention to this astonishing revival. But one American voice has consistently, and with a high sense of democratic responsibility, stressed the fascist danger. I refer to William L. Shirer, who last Sunday came back to the subject in his comment in the New York *Herald Tribune* on the latest report of the International Committee for the Study of European Questions.

I have that document before me. Its authors are also liberals, mild liberals most of them, but they live in Europe and can hear closer at hand the growling of the awakened beast. The report is dramatic but not hysterical. Instead of large phrases it offers a collection of well-authenticated facts. Only in one sentence does it reveal how deeply the committee members have been moved by recent developments: "The Allied peoples are beginning to wonder if the considerable sacrifices they accepted in the course of an unprecedented war have not been suffered in vain."

It must have been hard for a man like Edouard Herriot, whom I heard only a year ago in Paris repudiate those cynics who were proclaiming the peace lost, to subscribe to such a comment. But a year ago Schacht had not yet been consulted by the American military authorities on the economic problems of the Western zone; the former chief of the Nazi General Staff, General Franz Halder, was not yet "cooperating with the historical division of the General Staff of the American army"; Franco had not yet, for all practical British and American purposes, been acknowledged as Spain's irreplaceable chief of state; and the Pope had not yet bestowed upon Perón a high Vatican order. It is only in the last year that fascists have been received and even welcomed into the Western democratic brotherhood. The struggle for recovery that in the past has followed the defeat of every ideological movement of similar proportions has been one of enviable brevity for the fascists. A few were sacrificed in the first flush of victory, but as one of the Nürnberg casualties put it before he mounted the scaffold, "individual Nazis, not Nazism, have been hanged."

The facts about Schacht and Halder are not taken from the committee report. It was the United Press which on June 18 reported that "[American] intelligence officers who have been questioning Schacht said his ideas for stabilizing German economy will be seriously considered." It was Karl von Wiegand who, having met the former German Chief of Staff "casually" in an eye clinic at Marburg University, reported on June 22 General Halder's present relations with the American army and his ideas about war with Russia. "Soviet Russia [said Halder] could be invaded through the White Sea and Archangel, and the invading forces could drive down toward the Volga River, the Mississippi of Russia in Europe. At the same time other forces could go through the Dardanelles into the Black Sea. Another army could advance from Turkey. Another from Greece and Thrace through the Balkans." A typical Nazi application of the Truman Doctrine. Though von Wiegand may have embroidered into the story some of his inveterate Germanophilism, the interesting fact is that a year ago Halder would have been more interested in saving his skin than in selling his solution for the world's present troubles.

It is in the light of the whole record that the committee's report should be read. To many names long since mentioned in *The Nation,* the committee adds those of Nazis occupying high positions in the Western zones. The man who practically controls the allocation of coal is Herr Helmut Kugler, not only a member of the Nazi Party but a former official of Hitler's Intelligence Service. The general director of the entire railway transport system in the British zone is Dr. Fritz Busch, another Nazi party member.

The report mentions other leaders of Nazi Germany who, more jittery than some of their countrymen like Herr Kugler and Herr Busch, fled to neutral countries during the war instead of awaiting confidently the future favors of the Allies. I was interested to discover an old acquaintance of mine recovering in Switzerland from his war-time hardships as a Nazi spy. It is the famous Baron von Stohrer, a man as huge as his audacity. In World War I he was the chief German plotter in Spain, and it was this valuable experience that led Hitler to send him to Madrid as ambassador at the beginning of World War II. Today he is supposed to be in charge of the whole Nazi diplomatic underground.

The committee charges that, in spite of Swiss assurances, "all German assets which were exported into Switzerland before the collapse of Germany and which belong to German or Nazi leaders who succeeded in escaping to Switzerland or other foreign countries remain in the hands of the latter [the Nazi leaders] today—even if temporarily blocked—and have escaped from the Allied powers." Thus fascism has not only reinstated its leaders but has saved enough funds to finance its revival. It is a revival in which almost every country, in one way or another, is involved. The report lists fascist activities in progressive Sweden as in reactionary South Africa. Fascism puts great hope in the United States, counting upon a favorable turn should the Republicans win in 1948.

The committee describes the insolent and defiant celebration last April in Italy of the anniversary of Mussolini's death. The report came too early to include such manifestations of fascism's rebirth as the incident in a public meeting in France where somebody jumped up and shouted, amid applause, "I have the honor of having been sentenced as a collaborator"; or the new provocative behavior of the Mosley group in Britain. But it gives full consideration to the situation in Argentina, whose capital has taken the place of Rome as Madrid long ago took the place of Berlin.

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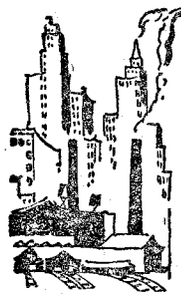

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Divided Soothsayers

IT IS now thirteen months since the stock market began descending from its post-war peak, nine months since its violent break immediately after Labor Day. The pundits who claim that the market "always knows," that it is the best long-range predicter of the economic weather, felt certain last fall that a recession, if not a depression, was on the way. Month by month since then we have been given new warnings of the imminence of that recession, but it has still to appear. Recent stock-market action suggests an acute division of opinion between those who think trouble is just around the corner and those who are ready to bet on the prolongation of the present boom.

From early February to the middle of May the stock averages moved fairly steadily lower; since then the trend has been sharply reversed, and a large part of the lost ground recovered. However, many professional traders have been selling on the rise, for between May 15 and June 17 the short interest on the New York Stock Exchange rose from 1,314,391 to 1,540,493 shares. Publication of these figures on June 21 did not depress the market; on the contrary, the bulls decided that the bears would be forced to cover and so add to the buying pressure.

Who is right, the bulls or the bears? Will business maintain the present very profitable rate of activity, in which case stocks on the whole are cheap, or are production, sales, employment, and profits about to start sliding downhill? The soothsayers of Wall Street seem to be getting very contradictory answers to these questions from their crystal balls. Thus in the latest issue of *Barron's* we find H. J. Nelson, "The Trader," full of good cheer. He points to the "sustained strength of retail buying," the generally sound inventory position, the unprecedented demand for heavy-industry products, record-breaking employment, and the new all-time peak in average weekly earnings, and concludes that "fundamental developments have become much stronger than such factors as the defeat of tax relief."

The editorial in the same issue of the same magazine reaches directly opposite conclusions. Its author rebukes President Truman for the optimistic tone of his tax veto message and, disagreeing with Mr. Nelson, interprets the denial of tax relief as definitely deflationary. "The special forces which have been sustaining business activity for so long," he declares, "now threaten to subside all together and not too many months hence."

In attempting to arrive at some conclusion about the rights and wrongs of this controversy it is worth while to review briefly the chief elements of the post-war boom. They are five in number—consumer restocking, inventory rebuilding, business investment, residential construction, and exports.

The flattening of the retail-sales curve since the beginning of this year suggests that consumers have satisfied their most urgent needs in many lines and are now buying more cautiously. At the end of 1946 retailers became alarmed about the size of their inventories and reduced orders drastically, particularly for soft goods. At the same time they took measures to clear their shelves of sub-quality and *Ersatz* goods. As a result the position of the big retail organizations now seems much healthier. Department stores have reduced orders-plus-stocks by $582,000,000 from their high point last August and brought their ratio to sales back to the pre-war figure. For the year to date department-store sales have been 11 per cent above 1946, but allowing for price increases this probably means a small decline in volume.

A recent Federal Reserve study shows that while many families drew heavily on savings during 1946, the total of personal holdings of liquid assets increased. Moreover, a larger number of consumers than in 1946 see good times ahead and may therefore be expected to spend freely. On the other hand, plans for purchasing houses and durable goods, other than automobiles, show a decline in comparison with last year. And nearly half the consumers interviewed expressed a belief that prices would go down, suggesting that some purchases may be postponed in anticipation. Nevertheless, the total of consumer purchasing seems likely to remain at a high level.

The rebuilding of inventories last year was a very important factor in sustaining economic activity, but the job is about completed. Industry is still adding to inventories but at a reduced rate, and the additions are to stocks of finished goods rather than to raw materials. The total, while high, is not abnormal in relation to the current volume of business, but any serious decline in business activity might start a dangerous wave of liquidation.

Business expenditure on new plant and equipment remains at a very high level. Plans call for an outlay of $3½ billion in the present quarter—a little more than in the first—and the total for the whole year is estimated at $14 billion compared with $12 billion in 1946. Investment activity on this scale suggests that business men expect to find a profitable outlet for increased production.

The abandonment of most building controls is expected to increase the volume of business construction. On the other hand, it is feared that as a result both labor and materials will be diverted from residential building and the present declining tendency in materials prices will be reversed. Housing officials in Washington predict that new housing contracts will fall off sharply in the next few months.

With the outlook for the chief components of domestic demand somewhat mixed, the maintenance of exports may prove decisive for the continuance of prosperity. As I pointed out on this page recently, exports have been phenomenal since the beginning of the year, but a sharp reduction is threatened because our foreign customers are rapidly exhausting their supply of dollars. It has been estimated that each drop in exports of a billion dollars means a million unemployed; so that if the current rate of $16 billion were reduced by no more than 25 per cent, the effects would be extremely serious. The United States, no less than Europe, has a big stake in the success of efforts now being made to find a sound basis for financing European recovery.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Romantic Survey

THE HIDDEN DAMAGE. By James Stern. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

FOR any thinking person who has spent some time in post-war Germany the most inescapable problem has been the sorting out of one's emotions toward the German people. The pity provoked by the misery and squalor and hopelessness of their daily lives is constantly in conflict with the thought of the unspeakable outrages of the concentration camps, and the German with whom one is in daily personal contact is compared to the Vansittart version until the head spins and one discards the problem as soluble only at the highest level of authority and the lowest level of human emotion.

No book on post-war Germany that has appeared to date has done very much to resolve this confusion of feeling; the expert accounts of such events as the Nürnberg trials and the plots against Hitler, though of the greatest interest, deal with events so remote from the average human experience that they almost belong to the realm of romantic fiction, while books about the German people are likely to be a jumble of statistics or hobby-horses for someone's particular prejudices. James Stern's "The Hidden Damage" is therefore doubly welcome in that it deals with the reactions of a highly sensitive human being to other persons and is a subtle and penetrating impression of post-war Germany written by a man who knew the country and the people thoroughly before the war, and who can view them now with understanding, compassion, and detachment, and record his impressions in vivid prose.

The book is primarily an account of Mr. Stern's trip to Germany, under the auspices of the War Department, as a member of a team engaged in determining what effect aerial bombing had had on the civilian population, but it is also the description of the romantic return of a passionate lover of Europe, in search of the past and with half an eye on the possibilities of renewing the affair.

That France and England can be embraced again with pleasure there is no vestige of doubt in the author's mind; he approaches them both with the excited trepidation and ardor of a man too long separated from his mistress, and neither he nor the reader is disappointed: toward Germany he is much more tentative—Germany is the adolescent love with whom it was finally necessary to part for reasons of temperamental incompatibility, who has changed with the years almost beyond recognition, but who can still be viewed with sympathy because of the early love, who is hateful because of certain characteristics developed with the years, but who still bears traces of what was once enchanting.

Mr. Stern was chosen as a member of the survey team because of his knowledge of the country and the language (he had worked for some years in a bank in Frankfurt, a job which he detested and from which he sought relief by working late at night as a barman in one of the more disreputable bars in the city). He claims to have had no particular talent as an interviewer, but whatever his faults may have been in this respect, they are undoubtedly his virtues as a writer. If his mind had not wandered from the prosaic questions of the *Fragebogen*—occupation and address before and during the war? did bombing affect health, work, or sleep? how many air-raid casualties were there in the family? what damage was done to the home? how were the electricity, drainage, and sewage systems affected by raids?—the reader would not have been rewarded by the wonderfully illuminating flashes with which every interview he records is graced: the old man who at the end of his questioning expresses the wish that the Jews "who went to America" will return to Germany because "unter den Juden we were always able to buy so much cheaper"; the bitter Red Cross nurse whose recalcitrance causes Stern to finish up his interview with her thus—"Not married?" "Nein." "And no children?" "I said I was not married." "I heard you. Maybe that explains a lot."

The best sections of the book, however, are the descriptions of the awful damage inflicted on the German cities and the accounts of the people inhabiting the ruins. Mr. Stern met many old friends and acquaintances, and not all are any longer sympathetic. The Schmorell family, whose son has been beheaded and who have been tortured by the Gestapo, are infinitely pitiable, but not so the attractive Gisela Dunkelmann and her circle of friends, whom Stern finds the most guilty of all, because as intellectuals they were, or should have been, the most aware, and yet they show no trace of remorse.

It is the author's ability to maintain a remarkable degree of perspicacity and detachment in his judgments, despite his memories and his affections, which makes this book such a valuable document for the student of Germany. As an aid to enlightened, wise, and unbiased understanding of the German people it should be made compulsory reading for our entire occupation forces.

ANTHONY BOWER

Vergil and Horace

THE GEORGICS OF VIRGIL. Translated by C. Day Lewis. Oxford University Press. $2.50.

HORACE: A PORTRAIT. By Alfred Noyes. Sheed and Ward. $3.50.

IN THE foreword to his translation of the Georgics of Vergil, C. Day Lewis states his belief "that every classical poem worth translating should be translated afresh every fifty years." Fair enough; sound enough; and raising interesting questions. What authority is to decide what classical poems are worth translating? Who is to do the translating into prose or verse? What enterprising publisher will engage to get Mr. Frost, if he knows enough Greek, to work on Theocritus, or Miss Millay, who does know enough Latin, to render the elegies of Sulpicia? Or Mr. Cummings to do the pattern poems of Simmias of Rhodes? Perhaps there should be a law—that every contemporary poet deliver a translation of some classical poem, within two, three, five years, failure to do so resulting in a suspension of his license.

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Day Lewis has done a workman-like and readable job. Taking a leaf from Vergil's unfinished book, he has seen how the half-lines of the incomplete Aeneid added a wonderful, if accidental, grace to the long run of the hexameters; and he has deliberately broken his own six-beat lines with occasional short lines of three stresses. He has been as literal and line-for-line as possible, pointing out that didactic poetry is about the only kind that lends itself graciously to this kind of translation. Where the Georgics are didactic, Mr. Lewis's translation keeps them from seeming obnoxiously so; where they are not, as in the famous Orpheus and Eurydice story at the end of the fourth book, neither the translator's method nor his talent is equal to the occasion; but then whose would be?

An eminent enthusiast on agriculture, our own Louis Bromfield, contributes an introduction to this first American edition. (An English edition was published by the present publishers, the Oxford University Press, in 1940.) Mr. Bromfield's remarks are enthusiastic and idyllic, if not evangelical: what nobody seems to want to stress is that Vergil, for all the numerous contrasts he drew in favor of country as against city life, and in favor of the arts of peace as against those of war, nevertheless more than thought, he knew, that farmers had a hell of a tough time, and that farming was a continual battle. *Tantae molis erat!*

One would hardly suspect Alfred Noyes, that easygoing, folksy, rather careless, rather old-fashioned poet, of being the man to appreciate the elegance, the fastidious craftsmanship, the subtle music, of Horace, than whom no one, ever, better combined absolute precision with infinite suggestion. It is true that "modern" is almost a dirty word in Mr. Noyes's books; that he is diffuse and repetitious; that his convictions, at times, almost compel the reader to believe that, were Horace alive today, he would be receiving instruction from Monsignor Sheen. Mr. Noyes's enthusiasm is great, and his pretensions to scholarship modest; from the warmth and enthusiasm of his pages, from his real love of his subject, there is recreated, without too much false light or sentimental glamour, a stubborn, plausible, engaging little human being, a poet of the first order. There are, in Mr. Noyes's text, many moving passages; none as moving as the Latin selections he so generously quotes. Mr. Noyes's own "isometric" translations are quite good, though he sometimes has difficulty with the second person singular, apostrophe in our time being more or less of a lost art. Mr. Noyes makes clear that Horace was not, as our systems of education used to seem convinced, a poet for freshmen—nor for old fogies at the Union League Club either; you have to be a little mature, whatever your years, before you can begin to understand him. Mr. Noyes does understand, and what's more, he delights, and both the understanding and delight are conveyed to the reader with confidence in the judgment of the interpreter. What more could a poet ask, after two thousand-odd years? To have someone, with some sense, who knows and who cares; one has not been boasting, then, in predicting *"Non omnis moriar."*

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Old Jim Crow

JIM CROW AMERICA. By Earl Conrad. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $3.

INTO THE MAIN STREAM. A Survey of Best Practices in Race Relations in the South. By Dr. Charles S. Johnson and Associates. University of North Carolina Press. $3.50.

IN READABLE journalistic style Earl Conrad has prepared a vigorous indictment of Jim Crow America. While there is little novelty in the indictment, it has been drawn up by a good reporter with an eye for interesting detail and dramatic contrast. Dissecting the scheme of socio-economic domination that masquerades in America as "a race problem," Conrad devotes good chapters to the triple exploitation of Negro women—as women, as Negro women, as unwilling concubines of white men; to Negroes in the labor movement; to Negro migration; to the new "literary renaissance"—the airing, that is, which the "race problem" has received since 1943; to the treatment of racial minorities in the "white" press; to the Negro press; to restrictive covenants; to the iniquity of unequal educational opportunities; and to the Negro issue in contemporary politics. Much of it has been said before, but it needs repeating; and Conrad has the knack of restating the familiar as though it were the news of the hour.

In a final chapter Conrad makes a point of major importance. While American liberals have been genuinely interested in the Jim Crow system, this interest has too often been of an intermittent, fitful, and oblique character. Jim Crow has usually been involved in liberal pronouncements as an after-thought; as something exterior to the central concerns of the liberal movement. If the liberals were to address themselves whole-heartedly and realistically to the task of uprooting the Jim Crow system, they would find that such an undertaking would raise every essential issue with which they profess to be concerned, and they might then find in 13,000,000 American Negroes and 3,500,000 Americans of Mexican descent the mass base for a powerful political movement. But to this day American liberals have been unable to see the strategic advantages in an all-out centralized assault upon Jim Crow. What is needed at the moment, as Conrad points out, is a single national pressure group made up of every element that has expressed an interest in the elimination of the Jim Crow system. "The phalanx of white friends of the Negro," writes Conrad, "although operating in labor, church, business, and other spheres, needs now to be brought into a great special camp, with the driving fervor of the old abolitionist movement." I believe, too, that Conrad talks great good sense when he writes that "the right 'button,' that which has historically and inevitably been dynamic in America, is white enlistment in behalf of the Negro." Today we have thousands of eager and willing volunteers, but as yet we lack organization and a general staff.

"Into the Main Stream" constitutes a good supplement to Earl Conrad's impassioned indictment of Jim Crow, for it is devoted to the thesis that *some* improvement in race relations is taking place in the South. Dr. Charles S. Johnson and his associates have struggled hard to making a showing (a) for the proposition that some improvement is taking place; and (b) for what might be termed the meliorist theory of race relations. It is difficult, however, to sum-

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marize their findings, for they have not attempted to draw any conclusions from the materials which they have so laboriously collected. The volume has a rather curious subtitle: "A Survey of Best Practices in Race Relations in the South." In the general context of what is termed race relations in the South, the word "best" stands out rather embarrassingly. Granted that improvements have taken place, just how good is the "best" that this current survey shows in Southern race relations?

Of 224 "inter-racial committees" formed between April, 1943, and July, 1944, 27 are in Southern cities, but most of these cities are located in or near the border states. Nowadays Negroes are permitted to vote in North Carolina and in certain Southern cities, but generally speaking, the franchise is still withheld in rural areas. Occasionally, by prearrangement, a Negro is elected magistrate in an all-Negro township. In some areas a few carefully selected Negroes are now called upon for service on grand juries. More Negro lawyers are admitted to the bar every year in the South, but admission is difficult, and the bar associations are still lily-white. Within the last decade Negroes have been added to the police force in a number of Southern cities for service in Negro communities, but usually with a qualification, stated or implied, that they are not to arrest white persons.

Also within the last decade welfare institutions have added, here and there, trained Negro personnel, and in general more provision is being made for Negroes in welfare programs. Jim Crow practices are giving way, very gradually indeed, in common carriers. The press of the larger cities has been making an important contribution to race relations by the fairness of its news coverage and its advocacy of various reforms. There are faint stirrings of conscience in the church, some betterment in housing and health facilities; and "better practices" are developing in some institutions, both public and private, notably in federal agencies. But this constitutes about the sum-total of the "best practices" that the industrious authors of this volume have been able to produce.

On the crucial issues their research actually demonstrates the absence of substantial improvement. For example, they report that there is "scarcely even a straw blowing" to indicate improvement in the working conditions of Negroes employed as domestics and in personal service. While war-time gains were made in industry, most of them took place outside the South, notably in the aircraft and shipbuilding industries on the West Coast. More Negroes are joining trade unions in the South, and here real progress can be noted. But candid admissions made throughout this survey serve to minimize the significance of the improvements which the authors note so hopefully. "Not a single college in Virginia reported even one full course on the Negro or on race relations"; "there has been no widespread increase in total Southern library facilities for Negroes"; "there is no state in the South where a distinct effort is made to reach Negroes with health facilities comparable to that directed toward whites"; and so forth. After making these repeated admissions, general in character, how much importance do the authors of this survey really mean to attach to the isolated "best practices" which they have so industriously garnered from current offerings in the South? How important are these gains measured against the Monroe, Georgia, lynching of July 26, 1946? While some improvement is taking place in the South, it is to be noted, so to speak, around the edges of the problem and is occurring for the most part within the framework of the Jim Crow system.

On the second point which seems to run as an implied thesis through this volume—namely, that the slow, gradual, meliorist approach to race relations in the South is the best approach—the verdict must be negative and on the very evidence that has been assembled to defend this contention. For the "best practices" are heavily counterbalanced by the "worst realities" in the South today. Here Earl Conrad might be said to have the best of the argument. "The liberals in the South," he writes, have never been decisive because they have rarely shown a "disposition to make the full demands which the situation requires. . . . While quietists and moderates make their snail's-pace gains, the neo-Confederates wait for the right situation to smash down heavily with their swift military blows that dash to bits the gentle talk and gentle action of the gradualists."

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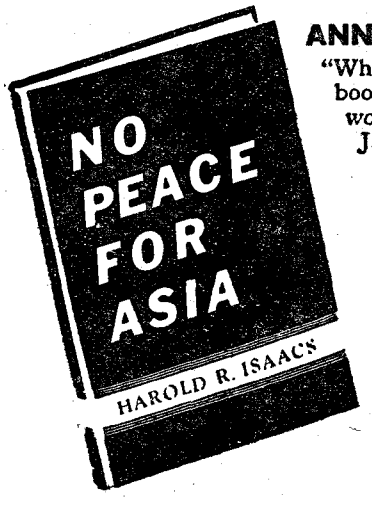

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***Author of* The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution**

NO PEACE FOR ASIA

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What *is* impressive about the evidence assembled in the Johnson book is the record, not of white penitence, but of Negro good-will. Some years ago the Georgia Federation of Colored Women, disturbed by the fact that there was not a single institution in the state for the care and guidance of Negro girl delinquents, bought a 130-acre tract, improved it, with funds provided by a WPA grant, to accommodate seventy-five girls, and furnished it with funds which they collected. Asked to accept as a gift the land and improvements, the Georgia legislature grudgingly agreed to do so and then refused in 1939 and again in 1941 to provide an appropriation for the support of a badly needed institution which had not cost the taxpayers a cent. In 1942 Governor Arnall finally got a small appropriation for the institution. Stories of this sort, scattered through the volume, indicate pretty clearly that the Negro is responsible for much of the improvement in race relations noted in the South in the last decade. CAREY MC WILLIAMS

Dostoevsky's Genius

DOSTOEVSKY: A STUDY. By Janko Lavrin. The Macmillan Company, $2.

HE WAS the first European novelist to explore the unconscious and annex it wholesale to modern literature." Thus Professor Janko Lavrin, opening his brief appraisal of Dostoevsky, proclaims what is for him of primary, compelling significance in the Russian writer's work—his preoccupation with the conflict, of a moral nature, raging within the individual. Professor Lavrin is understandably enthusiastic about his subject, and the enthusiasm leads him into a number of odd exaggerations whenever another writer than Dostoevsky is discussed ("Proust . . . the coldness of a peephole eavesdropper"); but in his own field of inquiry, regarding Dostoevsky as a psychologist who projected his own travail into the lives of his characters, he has some pertinent and well-expressed reflections to offer.

Dostoevsky's great talent lay in his ability to dramatize ideas. His men, and some of his women, are beset by a fervent desire for knowledge of God's existence. They are, however, not intellectually impassioned in this quest; at least, that is not the mainspring of their desire. "Dostoevsky tackled the problem . . . primarily as a psychologist interested in God as an active element in man's consciousness —an element which fills the latter not only with the highest longings but also with the bitterest doubts and torments." Dramatized, such a concept evolves into a tragic character of split personality, like Ivan Karamazov, in whom a rigorously logical skepticism wars with a will to believe. In him the issue at stake is voiced clearly and its implications are fully recognized, for he is intellectual; but in other characters the conflict is waged underground and not so sharply defined, or perhaps not joined at all on the level of consciousness. Kirillov—in "The Possessed"—sublimates a religious yearning to accept God in an atheism which conveniently sets up the new man as God. Raskolnikov, Stavrogin, and Ippolit—in "The Idiot"—are all absorbed, to varying degrees of intensity, in the questions of God's existence and man's freedom; they are exalted because within each of them *both* sides of the argument vie uninterruptedly in a spiritual tug-of-war. Only Prince Myshkin, in what is paradoxically the most skilfully constructed of Dostoevsky's novels, represents but one half of the good-evil dualism which subsists in Dostoevsky's troubled heroes.

In this twentieth century several authors—Joyce and Kafka, notably—have made a descent into the spiritual "underworld"; but in his own time Dostoevsky was blazing a new trail when he embodied antinomic features in one character by use of the split inner dialogue. He was always primarily concerned with mental stress, which drove the persons in his fiction to grave and violent outbursts; this emphasis on psychological cause led him to what Professor Lavrin calls "visionary realism," in contrast to the detailed realism of a Zola, who depicted the manners of an entire society.

Dostoevsky anticipated the modern attitude toward criminals when he sought to distinguish, in his memoirs of Siberian penal life, "The House of the Dead," between the supra-normal and the abnormal aspects of mental activity. Nietzsche wrote of him later, "He was the only psychologist from whom I had anything to learn."

Professor Lavrin's book, which subjects the five later novels to a careful scrutiny of plot, as well as a thorough analysis of character motivation, is interesting and illuminating. It does not especially attempt to fix Dostoevsky's historical position with regard to the main body of European literature, nor does it calculate in any formal manner his influence upon succeeding writers of renown; but as an introduction it is provocative. PAUL HENISSART

Fiction in Review

IT IS not at all uncommon for light fiction to betray a deep hidden bitterness; the work of Angela Thirkell is a case in point. But it is rare indeed to come across a light novel which, like Rupert Croft-Cooke's "Miss Allick" (Holt, $2.75), announces an open anger. The theme of "Miss Allick" is the bad condition of modern literature, particularly of modern novels. It is a subject to which the author brings so much quiet passion that one must suspect him of having at some period in his career been that most unhappy of public readers, a fiction reviewer.

Mr. Croft-Cooke believes—and I agree with him—that in novels as in love people by and large get only as good as they ask for. He believes too—and I agree with him—that literature is no mere decoration of life but a true index of the health or sickness of a society, and that just as dictatorship, war, and all the other hideous phenomena of our political day undoubtedly answer a profound need in the modern mass-personality, so the debasement of our literary standards must reflect a loss of standards throughout our lives. The Miss Allick of Mr. Croft-Cooke's title is a governess with a firm determination to become a best-selling novelist. She succeeds—and not only once, but season after season. The secret of this grim lady's success is simple: she infallibly appeals to her times because she *is* her times. Her only values the easiest values of the moment, her opportunism indistinguishable from sincerity, Miss Allick is the perfect expression of a civilization diabolically contriving its own destruction.

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There is a wonderful description of Miss Allick's dull fierce movement, as the cycles spin, from the romantic novel to bohemianism, to national pride, to social consciousness, to international politics—each step of the way hailed as a "classic" by the critics. Mr. Croft-Cooke's outline of the modern writing career might have been funnier, but it could not have been more accurate or better calculated to demonstrate the way in which literature marks our political directions; whatever liveliness is missing from "Miss Allick" is more than compensated for by its intelligence. And even the fact that Mr. Croft-Cooke's governess lacks convincing human quality, which we at first take to be a failure in character-drawing, assumes another significance as we grasp the full seriousness of the book's intention. Miss Allick's inhumanity is her author's final argument that it is monstrosity and not the human possibility that modern life and fiction celebrate.

Of the accumulated spring novels that I have been going through these last weeks I have so far found only one other, besides "Miss Allick," that seems to me to be worth noting—Henry Morton Robinson's "The Great Snow" (Simon and Schuster, $2.75). The story of what happens to a family—husband, wife, two children, and some guests—marooned in a country house during a twenty-day snowstorm, Mr. Robinson's novel, although primarily concerned with states of mind, has a nice excitement about it: it makes you look out of your window to be sure that you, too, are not housebound by a blizzard. It also stirs your Robinson Crusoe instincts. But it is less for these pleasant gratifications than for its human decency that Mr. Robinson's book must be noticed. "The Great Snow" is written out of an affection and hope for people that is almost obsolete in current novels, especially in novels which claim a psychoanalytical inspiration.

I think there is little question that the main motive in present-day psychiatric or psychoanalytical fiction is revenge, especially against the psychiatrists and analysts themselves. It is as if we wanted to turn our dubious understanding of the workings of the mind against the very people who first invited us to self-knowledge, tell them that they are mad before they might tell us that we are mad. This hostile attitude is of course new even in so-called Freudian fiction; up to a few years ago our chief impulse, as we tried to use the methods of analysis, was the impulse to make ourselves heroes rather than to make villains of the analysts. And heroism was mostly a matter of sensitivity: the more the writer could reveal of his own delicate mechanisms the more virtue and stature accrued to him. There was undoubtedly too much loving self-reference in our past performance, but at least it was a step short of what seems to be the current attitude —the need to assert ourselves by hitting out with blind passion against anyone who might question us.

In such a situation Mr. Robinson's novel, which regards the findings of psychoanalysis as an instrument of health, is something of a cultural anomaly. There is a good deal of muddle in Mr. Robinson's use of Freudian concepts, but this is of less importance than the fact that Mr. Robinson puts his Freudian principles wholly at the service of his characters, as a means of adding to their size and well-being. And he is never either didactic or mealy-mouthed about this purpose; to the best of his ability he tries to translate his clinical information into novelistic terms, and to avoid static resolutions. For instance, the most interesting passage in his book concerns the feelings of a markedly masculine father when he has to recognize the effeminacy of his young son. At first outraged, he gradually begins to see not only his own responsibility for the boy's character, but the kind of strength that resides under the son's seeming weakness. The result of this insight is no absolute happiness on the father's part, but merely an acceptance of the good-and-bad of which life is compounded—a larger humanity. It is this ambition for its characters that makes "The Great Snow" a mature and estimable novel.

DIANA TRILLING

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

"The Innocent Eye" by Herbert Read

REVIEWED BY IRWIN EDMAN

"Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism" by Gershom G. Scholem

REVIEWED BY HENRY P. VAN DUSEN

Films

JAMES AGEE

IF YOU regard all experiment as affectation and all that bewilders you as a calculated personal affront, and if you ask of art chiefly that it be easy to take, you are advised not to waste your time seeing Jean Vigo's "Zero de Conduite" and "L'Atalante"; go on back to sleep, lucky Pierre, between the baker's wife and the well-digger's daughter, if you can squeeze in among the reviewers who have written so contemptuously of Vigo's work. If you regard all experiment as ducky, and all bewilderment as an opportunity to sneer at those who confess their bewilderment, and if you ask of art only that it be outré, I can't silence your shrill hermetic cries, or prevent your rush to the Fifth Avenue Playhouse; I can only hope to God I don't meet you there. If, on the other hand, you are not automatically sent either into ecstasy or catalepsy by the mere mention of avant-gardism, if your eye is already sufficiently open so that you don't fiercely resent an artist who tries to open it somewhat wider, I very much hope that you will see these films. I can't at all guarantee that you will *like* them, far less that you will enjoy and admire them as much as I do, for they are far too specialized. I can only be reasonably sure that you will find them worth seeing.

"Zero de Conduite" is a forty-minute movie about a French boys' boarding-school. It is hard for me to imagine how anyone with a curious eye and intelligence can fail to be excited by it, for it is one of the most visually eloquent and adventurous movies I have seen. But its fullest enjoyment depends rather heavily, I believe, on subjective chance. I happen to share a good deal of Vigo's peculiar kind of obsession for liberty

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and against authority, and can feel this in particularly clear emotional focus, as he does, in terms of the children and masters in a school. So the spirit of this film, its fierceness and gaiety, the total absence of well-constructed "constructive" diagnosis and prescription, the enormous liberating force of its quasi-nihilism, its humor, directness, kindliness, criminality, and guile, form for me as satisfying a revolutionary expression as I know.

On one seeing, anyhow, the film is quite bewildering, even if you understand its main device, as I was slow to do; but if you know the device, and accept it, the bewilderment itself becomes essential to the poem, and to your pleasure in it. As I see it the trick is, simply, that Vigo gets deeper inside his characters than most people have tried to on film, is not worried about transitions between objective, subjective, fantastic, and subconscious reality, and mixes as many styles and camera tricks, as abruptly, as he sees fit—always, so far as I can see, using the right style at the right moment, and always using it with force, charm, and originality. I assume that he intended, as one of his main points, to insist that these several levels of reality are equal in value, and interpenetrative; and I would accept this aesthetically for its enrichment of poetic perception, metaphor, and device, even if I rejected it intellectually.

It seems clear to me that on the wild level of "Zero," and on levels less adventurous, the unprejudiced eye could learn its way around such intricate treatment as naturally as it learned to link the many disparities which make up the basic vocabulary of conventional movies. Most movies, including many of the best, have been made timidly and under great handicap, with fragments of the movie alphabet which were mostly shaped and frozen by around 1925. In an important sense Vigo is far from "unconventional"; he is merely making much of the rest of the alphabet available. He has gone as far in this, I think, as Eisenstein or Dovshenko—in a very different direction, of course—and a great deal that he has done in this film, bold as it is, should be regarded less as inimitable experiment than as the conquest of more of the full ground on which further work can be done. It is as if he had invented the wheel. Many others were fumbling at it; some still are; but nobody of anything remotely like his ability is trying to find further uses for it; and one is sure to be branded as a solemn snob, incapable of "enjoying" movies, if one so much as dares to speak in favor of these elementary devices by which enjoyment could be enlarged.

The boys in "Zero" are seen as they see each other; the audience is one of them. Although they are much the hardest, most happily perceived children I have seen in a movie, in one sense they are sentimentalized. They have the aloof, dangerous beauty of young, wild preying animals; whereas some of the schoolboys I knew were merely unnoticeable, others were sick, others gentle or timid, and still others were safe-playing, sycophantic dolts from the day they were born—faculty members already. I wish they had been shown in this variety, however it might have complicated Vigo's child-worship and his anarchic fury. The teachers, however, are perfect. Seen as the boys see them or hope to see them, they are masterpieces of caricature, mainly ferocious, one coldly compassionate, one in the hyperboles of admiration. The sympathetic teacher who inspires them to revolt is a sort of lay Chaplin; another, an inspired epitome of the snoop, suggests Groucho Marx or, still more, a tiptoeing lobster dressed in an undertaker's suit; the headmaster is a pompous, murderous, shrieking midget.

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There are so many wonderful scenes that I can mention only a few: the silent, mysterious opening, in which two boys in a railway compartment play out the most beautiful white-magic I have ever seen, with toys, tricks, and suggestions of competitive vice; a blood-slowing capture of paralysis of time on a Sunday, and on the carpet of the headmaster's office; a dormitory riot and procession, bearing a crucified teacher through a slow-motion storm of pillow feathers, which combines Catholic and primordial rituals and as an image of millennial, triumphal joy has only been equaled on film, so far as I know, by newsreel shots of the liberation of Paris. Vigo does some beautiful things, too, with subtly *slurred* rather than slow motion; and the stripped, mean sets and the occasional glimpses of pure naturalistic action are grim and firm as stone outcrops. Maurice Jaubert's score seems good but nothing extraordinary as music, but fitted with the film I like it as well as any outside Dovshenko's "Frontier."

(To be continued)

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

AT TWENTY I was as impressed by the late Paul Rosenfeld's "Musical Portraits" as most people were; but rereading it at thirty I could see that it was only a fancy rephrasing of generally accepted estimates; and what caused me to reread it and check my earlier impression was the conviction I had arrived at by this time that he did not really have the critical perception he pretended to in his writing. What little I saw of the writing after that always confirmed this opinion; and just recently it was confirmed again by his review of the program given by the American Ballet at the Metropolitan Opera House in the spring of 1937, which I found in an old issue of the *New Republic*.

The program consisted of three ballets of Balanchine with musical scores by Stravinsky: two of Balanchine's greatest works, "Apollo" and "Le Baiser de la fée," the second with one of Stravinsky's finest and most moving scores, and "The Card Party." And Rosenfeld wrote that the third ballet's "appearance of relatively colossal magnitude was somewhat illusory, flowing to a distinct degree from the fact of its companions' puniness: a puniness the consequence of wooden choreography combined in one case with a vital if languidly classical score, and in the other with an interminable fantasia on themes of Tchaikovsky's. . . . The choreography of 'Apollo' was utterly empty of poetry, effortful, and essentially at variance with the music. If that of 'Le Baiser' was less antagonistic to its score, it was largely for the reason that that composition itself is Stravinsky's feeblest."

On the other hand, W. J. Turner, who died in England last winter, was the most distinguished music critic of our time. An artist, a poet himself, he wrote about the qualities of Mozart's music, which are so difficult to describe, with a poet's penetration and precision of statement; and he had those illuminating insights which constitute the sole value of a critic's writing and are to be found in the writing of so few critics. Only the book on Mozart is still in print here; but you may be able to find others in the library: the one on Beethoven, the one on Berlioz, the collections of articles, the volume called "Music" (published in the Isaac Pitman "Art and Life" series).

An RCA Victor executive—in private conversation, and speaking, I was told and believe, as a disinterested music-lover—was reported to have expressed his amazement and impatience at the way some people talked and wrote about the superiority of the old Busch Chamber Players' recorded performances of Bach's Brandenburg concertos to the performances recently recorded by Koussevitzky with a small group from the Boston Symphony for Victor, when, this executive contended, anyone could hear how poor the soloists in the Busch performances were in comparison with those in the Boston.

Well, *I* can't: listening to the newly issued Boston performances of Nos. 2 and 5 (Set 1118; $4.85) and to the Busch versions I hear that Moyse and Rothwell produce fine tone with their instruments even if not as fine as Laurent and Gillet, that Eskdale is as good a trumpeter as Voisin, that it is Burgin's violin-playing which is poor in comparison with Busch's, and Foss's piano-playing which is even poorer in comparison with Serkin's. And I am amazed that anyone with claims to understanding should think there is nothing involved beyond the tone of the flute and oboe; that he should fail to hear and appreciate in the Busch performances what more there is that makes them the wonderful and exciting things they are—the relaxation, lightness, and grace, the sensitive accentuation of the bass, the balance and consequent clarity of the lines of sound in the contrapuntal texture and their sensitive inflection; and that he should fail to hear the opposites of all these things in the Boston performances.

Listening to the Boston performance of the Andante of No. 2 I became aware of a bareness in the sound of the accompaniment, and realized that it was caused by the fact that the two cellos were playing the bass-notes alone without the keyboard instrument prescribed in the score. The bareness was even more striking in the concluding Allegro, where long solo passages were heard far above the bass—so striking that it was clear that Bach could not possibly have intended this result, and that he had expected the keyboard instrument to fill in the harmony, as Serkin does in the Busch performance. Here is Koussevitzky, outraged by a biographer's statement that there were things he did not know and had to learn when he began to conduct the Boston Symphony, but revealing that today he still doesn't know, and can't even hear, the necessity of the keyboard instrument Bach prescribes for a performance of the Brandenburg Concerto No. 2.

Busch has been criticized for his use of a piano instead of a harpsichord; but the force of the criticism is lessened by the discretion of Serkin's playing. Its only flaw is the over-romantic style of his performance of the cadenza in No. 5; but this is better than Foss's lack of any style at all.

CONTRIBUTORS

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Letters to the Editors

All Is Not Well with China

Dear Sirs: The Chinese government has charged that the beaten-up and arrested students were Communists or their agents. Chiang, Chang Chun, and Wu Kuo-Cheng, the Mayor of Shanghai, have all said so again and again. None the less, that is a lie, pure and simple. Every simple person can see it. Even Dr. Hu Shih, who is certainly no Communist, called such a charge ridiculous nonsense.

The logic of the government is simply this: the Communists are against the government; the students who demand peace, democracy, salvage of education, and freedom from hunger are also against the government; therefore, the students are Communists or their agents. Since to put all the young men and women in jail is not feasible, killing, thrashing, and imprisoning their elected executives are chosen to do the trick.

Consequently, the professors sympathetic with the students and the reporters not misinforming the public are also Communists. Communists do not deserve to enjoy the common human rights—the government has made up its mind on that. And the government has police, military, Gestapo, and guttersnipe forces as well as an inexhaustible supply of paper and ink to print bank notes for paying those forces.

One cannot but let the democratic world know that all is not well with China. There follows a manifesto by seventy-six professors of Shanghai, issued five days ago:

> Watching the recent nation-wide upheaval among college students with deep concern and close deliberation, we, professors at various universities and colleges in Shanghai, are of the opinion that the aspirations of the students are laudable and their requests legitimate, while the government's attitude and proceedings in dealing with the matter are unjustifiable.
>
> By peaceful means the students have been asking for the salvage of education, the adoption of democratic policies by the government, the relief from the pinch of hunger, and the end of the civil war. No doubt if their wishes were taken cognizance of now and fully complied with eventually, the students as well as the nation at large would before long be happily lifted from the pit of suffering they are all in now. There is nothing to be feared in this movement of the students. Rather it clearly indicates that the nation is pulsating with a new spirit. China's own history is full of such regenerating instances, ancient and modern. But to our surprise and despair, the government chooses not only to ignore the resurgent will of the people as voiced by the young but to resort to hotheaded repressive measures. On May 18 the National Government of Nanking decreed its six "expedients in maintaining social order," and thereafter high-handed and disreputable steps have been unscrupulously and ruthlessly taken to suppress the student movement all over the country.
>
> During the last fortnight large numbers of college students have been molested, brutally beaten up, arrested, and imprisoned on the false charge of their being "Communist agents" in Peiping, Tientsin, Nanking, Shanghai, Canton, and other big cities. Pistols, guns, bayonets, iron rods, and heavy wooden clubs bristling with nails or barbed-wire coils have been indiscriminately used to wound and to kill. Hundreds and thousands of government agents, including policemen, soldiers, gendarmes, and plain-clothes men, broke into dormitories at midnight to arrest students. Girls pulled out of their beds by the hair were not even allowed to put on day dresses before they were thrown into police and military vans to be rushed to jails. The arrests are being continued, and the arrested will not be sent to the courts. Nor is it known when the imprisoned will be set free or whether wholesale murder will be their common fate. As teachers of the young men and women, we have therefore decided to declare:
>
> "We strongly condemn and protest against the use of brute force, on the part of the government, to suppress the student movement as well as the criminal violence employed and illegal arrests made by the government agents;
>
> "We demand the immediate release of all students thus arrested and the government's assurance in good faith that such wanton abuse of power will not be repeated;
>
> "We demand full protection for such basic human rights as freedoms of the body, of speech, of publication, of congregation, of the formation of societies, of lecturing, of demonstration, and of petition, and the instant abolition of the six 'expedients';
>
> "We ask that the outlay on education in the country's budget be increased from less than 4 per cent to 15 per cent, which may be contrasted with the 80 per cent going to military expenditure; and
>
> "We strongly urge the immediate ending of the civil war and the sincere practice of democratic policies by the government."

YANG WEN-PEU

Shanghai, June 6

We Learn from History . . .

Dear Sirs: When General Marshall recently advised Americans to study the Peloponnesian War, I got out my Thucydides, blew off the dust, and read, in an effort to find out just what he meant. I still cannot understand what he finds in Thucydides to recommend the policy he is pursuing in foreign affairs. I wonder if the General paid any attention to the causes of the war or if like most military men he was interested in nothing but the military details.

The situation preceding the Peloponnesian War was remarkably similar to the world situation today. The two great Mediterranean powers were Athens, a democracy, and Sparta, a totalitarian, communistic nation.

In Sparta, nominally a monarchy, all land and other natural resources belonged to the state; individual accumulation of wealth was prohibited, even to the possession of the smallest amount of gold or silver; and the use of wine or any imported luxury was strictly forbidden. Every activity of life from childhood to old age was regulated by law. Universal military training—really universal since it included girls as well as boys—furnished the government with the prime requisite for true totalitarianism. Art, science, philosophy, and all things that contribute to a free and liberal enjoyment of life were wiped out. The sole aim of the country was the militarist goal, complete and instant readiness to fight.

Athens was the heart of the world's democracy and had long been the center of learning and culture in the West. But it was no longer the true democracy of old, living simply and beautifully

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on the products of the soil. Its merchants monopolized the commerce of the Mediterranean, and individual wealth accumulated, while "plain living and high thinking" were no more. Athens had a navy which surpassed all other navies combined. It had seized bases and outposts all over the Aegean. It had made defensive alliances with two oligarchies, Regium in Italy and Leontini in Sicily, whose function was to curb Sparta in the West. It had an alliance with the other great naval power, Cocyra. It was in a position to cut off Sparta from its chief grain supply in Sicily.

Athens had already ruined Megara by economic boycott, because Megara would not side with it against Sparta. It was preventing home rule in Aegina. Urged on by the big-navy party and the greed of its merchants, it assumed that its manifest destiny was to control the Mediterranean world and eliminate the Spartan Communists. Its people were swamped with taxes, levied largely for the purpose of realizing the imperialist dreams of its militarists and merchants.

Voices were not wanting on both sides to warn that only ruin could ensue from the threatened contest for supremacy. Even among the war-loving Spartans old King Archidamus told his people that they were piling up woes for their children's children. But the Spartan militarists were sure they could win a speedy victory, and the Athenian authorities were equally confident.

After the war started, there were occasional efforts to make peace, but the militarists were always too strong and the conflict dragged on for years, with Sparta eventually the seeming victor but both parties so exhausted that they fell an easy prey to Thebes and Macedon.

ASA M. HUGHES

Lansdale, Pa., June 19

A Planned Economy

Dear Sirs: In order to bring down the very high and unreasonable prices of meat and thereby help the families of limited means every American should pledge his country at least two meatless days per week. Two meatless days per week will also do us good physically.

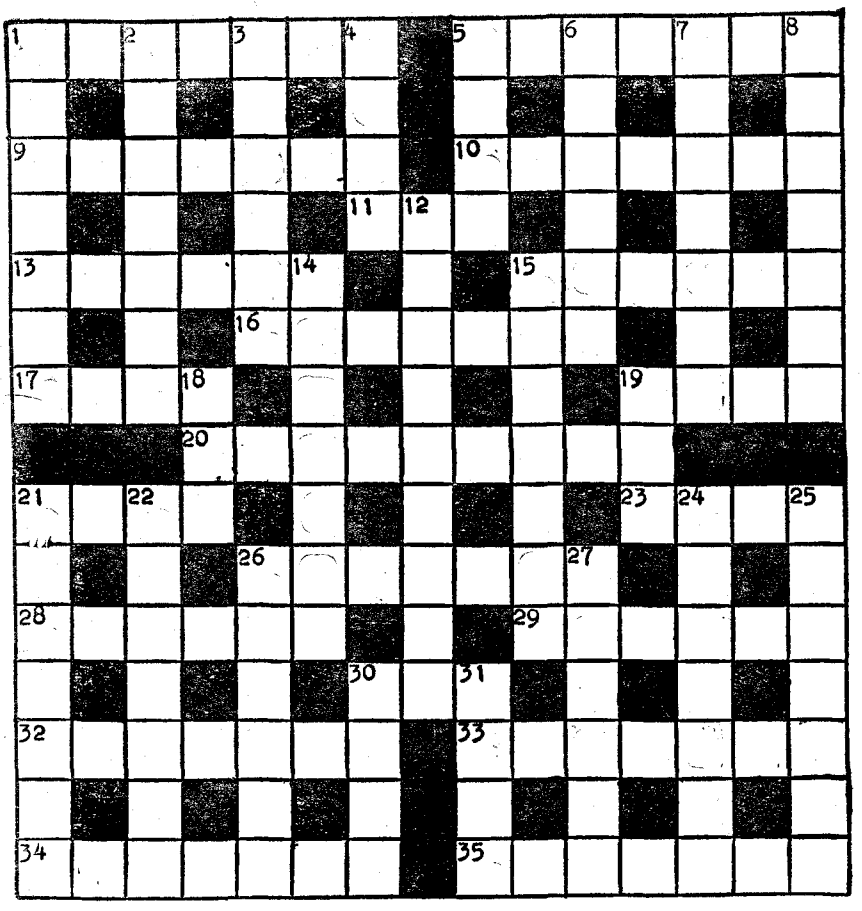
I also believe that we should strictly abstain from steaks and roast beef for at least thirty days. We have been eating too much steak and roast beef lately. This will likewise have a good effect on meat prices.

WILLIAM ROSS

Brooklyn, June 26

Crossword Puzzle No. 218

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 The outer man
5 High color
9 Scalding hot
10 Cure seen about last month
11 "Even copious Dryden wanted, or forgot The last and greatest - - - — to blot"
13 Bird allowed around a hostelry
15 Deliberate
16 Part of an animal's foot which doesn't reach the ground
17 Was carried away
19 In order
20 To the professor it might savor of a sinecure (4 & 5)
21 Bread upon the waters?
23 Dick
26 At no time (3 & 4)
28 Not the presiding deity of the Golden Age
29 The cock, none the less, shows people their turn of duty
30 A wild theory
32 Exceedingly hard, this
33 "- - - - - - -! half-brother of the world! With something good and bad of every land"
34 Lacking finish
35 No longer a medicine of secret composition

DOWN

1 A man at last
2 Star of the belted one
3 If red, would end as began
4 Scandinavian legend
5 Denomination
6 Cry "Wo!" back
7 Wash even more than Sir Harry
8 It marks a look-out place
12 Glances which may prove fatal
14 Isn't one in suspense?
15 Parley in another language
18 Hard to tell where its tail starts
19 Ada leaves the fleet
21 Search in the bazaar
22 The original pawnbroker?
24 A commuter—on the L. I. route
25 A 36-inch limb?
26 Not come of age yet
27 They look one way and go another
30 Is it the way to end inflammatory diseases?
31 The most important thing

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 217

ACROSS:—1 GIBUS; 4 DAD; 6 DENIM; 9 TOUSLED; 10 CARAVAN; 11 ANSWER; 13 POPINJAY; 15 NATURAL; 16 INSETS; 17 ISLE; 19 SPINNER; 21 ASTI; 23 AIRING; 25 CRATING; 27 SUPPOSES; 28 TOSSES; 31 ONE-TIME; 32 LOOSELY; 33 DOSED; 34 NAP; 35 SEDGE.

DOWN:—1 GOTHA; 2 BRUISES; SOLVENTS; 4 DODO; 5 DOCTOR; 6 DERAIL; 7 NAVAJOS; 8 MONEY; 12 RASPERS; 13 PUNNETS; 14 PAGEANT; 16 IDA; 18 EGG; 20 RIGOROUS; 22 TOPLESS; 24 INSTEAD; 25 COPIED; 26 AEGEAN; 27 SNOOD; 29 STYLE; 30 CLIP.

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